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The dual origin of the town
of Cambridge...
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THE DUAL ORIGIN OF THE
TOWN OF CAMBRIDGE

With Two Maps

BY

ARTHUR GRAY, M.A.

LECTURE 240 LECTURE BY HANS SCHLIER, CAMBRIDGE



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THE DUAL ORIGIN OF THE TOWN OF CAMBRIDGE

It is the business of this Communication to indicate the conditions under which the town of Cambridge came into being. The subject ranges over a wide ground, its treatment must of necessity be discursive, and the conclusions, in the almost complete absence of historical evidence, can be no more than probable.

It will be understood that I deal with a time so dimly remote that record hardly reaches to it. There is no question here of the corporate origin of Cambridge. Long before King John granted the town to the burgesses in farm it had been regarded as one and indivisible. Already, in Domesday Book, *Burgum de Gretebrige pro uno hundred se defendit*. In the eleventh century, for purposes fiscal and military, Cambridge is as clearly a unit as any hundred in the shire.

But look at Cambridge with the eyes of a traveller who entered it by the Newmarket Road two hundred years ago and you will see that even then the town consisted locally of two practically distinct settlements. You will see a few houses fringing the road near Barnwell Abbey; a few more lining it at the town end of Jesus Lane. Jesus College on the one hand, the Radegund Manor House and Sidney on the other are insulated in green closes. Next the river verdure reaches from Stourbridge chapel to the Quay Side. Continuing westwards from the end of Jesus Lane you will see a vestige of the green in All Saints' churchyard. The grass-plots in Trinity and St John's may suggest a time when the sward was not encompassed by College buildings, and the yet fresh masonry of Trinity Library and the third court of St John's will hint that in a recent day the river flowed through empty pastures. If from Barnwell we turn southwards there are green meadows and cornfields under the walls of Christ's and Emmanuel. In Loggan's Prospect of Cambridge from the East Side the shepherd is pasturing his flock on the balks of Clayhanger field, where Park Street stands, and smart students are riding out to hunt the hare. There are no houses in the Field, for the cultivators dwell in the town streets.

And this tract of land was even more thinly peopled in 1278, when King Edward I sent his commissioners to make a census of the town. Consider the figures which Professor Maitland gives in his *Township and Borough* (p. 102) of the houses in the several parishes. The total is 534, of which number we may omit 95 which were in Barnwell, a suburb outside the King's Ditch, and 40 which were in parishes unspecified. Of the remaining 399 houses 114 were contained in the parishes beyond the Bridge and in St Clement's and St Sepulchre's, and 252 were in the parishes near the Market-place and bordering the High Street. The great area comprised in the four parishes of All Saints, St Radegund, Trinity and St Andrew, an area greater than either the southern or the northern house-nucleus, contained in all but 33 houses¹.

¹ In 1901 the population of the northern parishes was 3912: that of the southern parishes was 3336: that of the middle parishes was 3993.

And in all probability most of these few houses were recent encroachments on what had been common land at the end of the eleventh century. Since Domesday the Benedictine nuns of St Radegund and the Franciscans had settled in open spaces which once, perhaps, had been field or pasture, and the Hospital of St John, as the burgesses complained to King Edward's commissioners, had occupied 'a very poor waste place of the community of the town.' Near each religious house, no doubt, small groups of dwellings grew up for the lodging of lay dependents. About the same time a few hithes rose with the growing trade of the town where Trinity and St John's now front the river. But the principal and richest inhabitants of the district were the Jews, who are said to have settled in Cambridge during the Conqueror's reign. Before the Conquest the whole area must have been almost bare of habitation¹.

If we turn to the Cambridge Field Books we shall find further evidence of the early duality of the town and a suggestion as to its significance. And first let me briefly explain what was the medieval Field and what the Books tell us of the Fields of Cambridge.

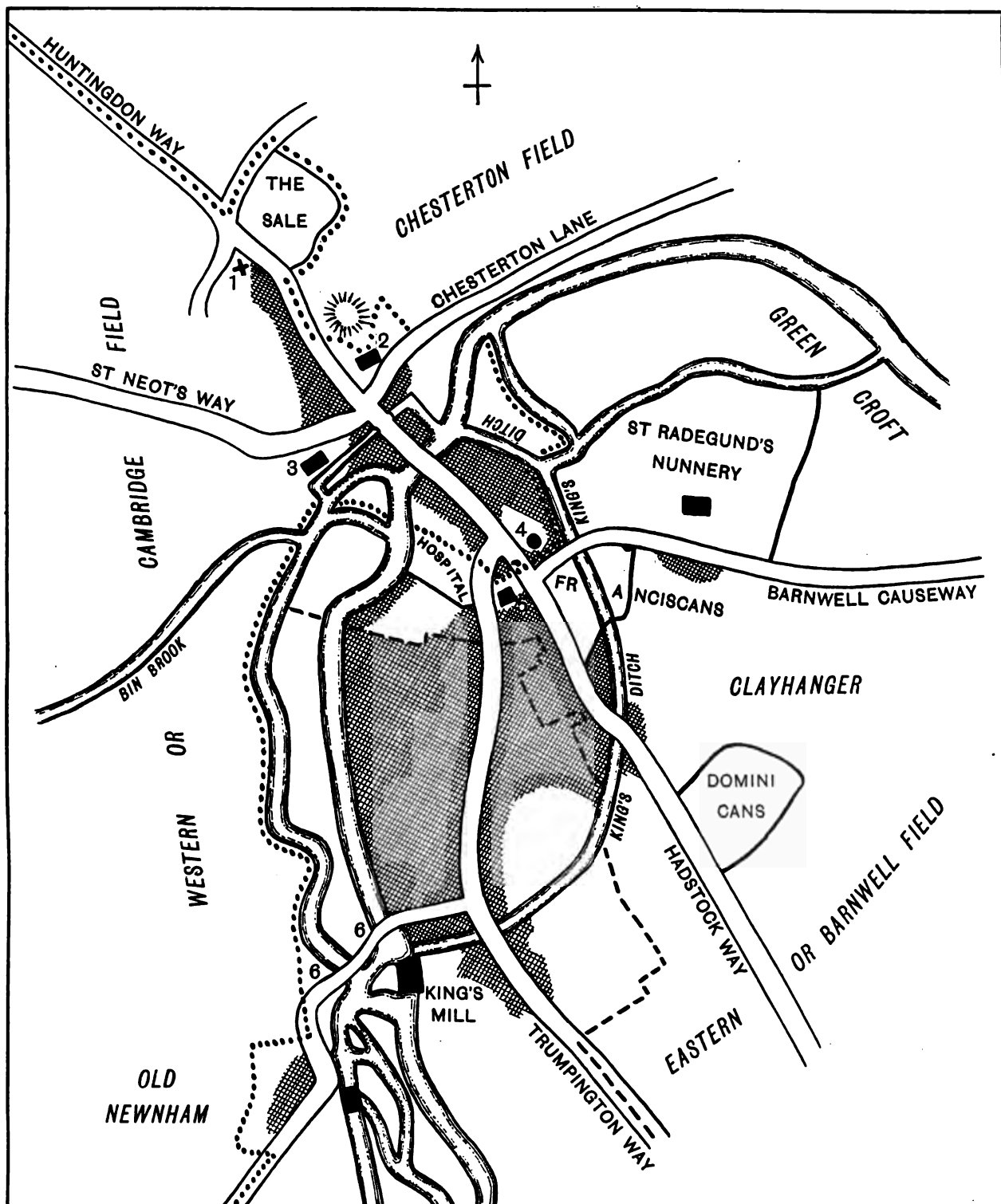
In the middle ages, and until the enclosure of the open fields at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cambridge town was surrounded on all sides, except where it borders Chesterton, by the unhedged fields which were owned and tilled by the townsmen, the properties of the owners being divided from one another by grass balks. The fields on the eastern side of the town were commonly and collectively known as Barnwell Field, and were bounded on their outer circumference by the parishes of Ditton, Cherry Hinton and Trumpington. The western fields, often specifically called Cambridge Field, were bounded by Grantchester, Coton, Madingley, Girton and Chesterton. Each of these two Fields seems to have been regarded as an agricultural unit. Each had its pieces of common pasture. Each was apparently cultivated on the usual three-field system. The three divisions of Barnwell Field were known as Bradmore Field, Middle Field and Ford Field, the last including the outlying Sturbridge Field. Those of the western or Cambridge Field were Grithow Field, Middle Field and Carme Field, with the last of which was reckoned Little Field². Books for each of the two Fields recorded the names of the several owners, the metes and bounds of the subsidiary Fields, the positions of the different furlongs and selions contained in them, and the church to which each property tithed³.

The medieval Field, using the word in its larger sense, as a whole containing subsidiary Fields, is the Field of a *villa*, or township. As no township was without its Field so none had more than one Field. In the duplicate Cambridge Field should we

¹ In Appendix, § 1, I suggest that the third and fourth wards of Domesday represented the area of the four parishes in the green, together with Barnwell. These wards contained four-fifths of the waste of the borough.

² See the plan opposite p. 55 in *Township and Borough*. For the enclosure of the two Fields separate Acts of Parliament were obtained—for Cambridge Field in 1802, for Barnwell Field in 1807.

³ Of these Field Books several manuscript copies are in existence. One of the Cambridge Field is in the University Library (Add. MS. 2601). I have used three copies of the Cambridge Field Book which are at Jesus College. One of these professes to be based on a survey made in 1477, but the evidence of the names of the owners of the selion strips shows that the original from which all three Books were derived was put together in the reign of Edward III. Of the Barnwell Field, so far as I know, our only information comes from a single Book, also at Jesus College. This is written in a hand of about the middle of the eighteenth century and is merely an abstract of a more detailed Book; but it contains all the essential facts, and the original from which it was taken, like its fellow of the Cambridge Field, belonged to Edward III's time.



Sketch Map of Cambridge in 1278.

The area occupied by houses is shaded.

... Boundary of the northern town.

--- Southern boundary of the parishes in the Green.

1 = the Market Cross, 2 = St Giles' Church, 3 = the School of Pythagoras, 4 = St Sepulchre's Church,
5 = All Saints' Church, 6 = Small Bridges.

not recognise an original duplicate township of Cambridge? We must not suppose that in the ownership of the selion strips, at the time when the Field Books were put together, there is any hint of such an origin. In the fourteenth century the Field system was in ruins. The selion divisions were in countless instances obliterated: 'three selions which were formerly five,' and such-like, are common notes in the Field Books. The owner of a strip may live at the end of the town remotest from his holding. Many men have holdings in both Fields. Some holders are not resident in Cambridge at all. But there is one element in the Books which is fairly permanent and which looks as primitive as anything that we can expect to find in documents of the fourteenth century, and that is the ownership of the tithes of the selions. It may be that, as Professor Maitland said, tithes remained in a somewhat fluid condition for some time after the Norman conquest. Yet one principle is stable and underlies all the tithe arrangements—that the selions in the Cambridge Field tithed almost exclusively to the churches at the northern end of the town, while those in the Barnwell Field tithed almost exclusively to the churches that stood in the open land which I have described as bisecting the town, and to the churches of the southern town. In both Books we find St Rade-gund's Nunnery represented. Otherwise the only parish names which appear in both Books are St Sepulchre's, St Botolph's and Little St Mary's (anciently called St Peter's) which is represented in the Books by Peterhouse.

St Sepulchre's is a small parish and its tithe holdings in either Field are few. It was originally a *membrum*, or cell, of Ramsey Abbey¹. The parish was probably a 'peculiar,' and the parishioners would be tenants of the Abbey in Cambridge. In the Cartulary of Ramsey Abbey² there is a list of these tenants. One is in St Peter's parish at the Castle; the others are either in St Clement's or in the Jewry, and the *Hundred Rolls* show that one at least of the latter was in All Saints' parish. This is a possible explanation of the appearance of St Sepulchre's tithe in both Fields. The explanation is clearer in the case of St Botolph's and Little St Mary's. Alone of the southern parishes they extend across the river and, beyond it, include the hamlet of Newnham³. The name of Newnham conveys a suggestion of modernity, but the dative case of the adjectival prefix tells us that it had a Saxon origin. In the later middle ages the part of it next the Mill was called Eldenewenham to distinguish it from a more recent extension of the hamlet. There are reasons, which I shall hereafter state, for thinking that at least Eldenewenham was a very ancient adjunct of the southern town. But the later Newnham, or some of its adjacent crofts, seems in early times to have been included in one or other of the northern transpontine parishes. That such was the fact seems to be clearly indicated in an agreement, quoted in full in the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum*⁴ between the vicar of St Botolph's and the Prior and Convent of Barnwell. The agreement, which bears date 1287, has reference to a close belonging to Reginald de Cumbertone and situated in *campis de Newenham*. The Prior claimed the tithes of this close for the church of All Saints at the Castle, which the Priory held in *proprios usus*. In the end the vicar and the Priory agreed to share the tithes. The crofters of Newnham, though in 1287 they found it convenient to transfer them-

¹ See charters 73 and 74 in *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. Lyons, in the Rolls Series vol. I. pp. 145, 146.

² Vol. I. p. 496.

³ The bounds of the parishes of All Saints, St Michael and St Edward extend over the *present* course of the river. Later in this Communication I suggest a reason for this singularity.

⁴ p. 219, ed. Clark.

selves from All Saints' next the Castle to the nearer church of St Botolph, could not transfer their tithe without some legal difficulty.

Putting aside the three parishes which I have named we see that the only tithe-owners in the Cambridge Field were the parsons of the transpontine parishes, together with St Radegund: the only tithe-owners in the Barnwell Field were the cispontine parsons, again with St Radegund. Neither St Clement's nor All Saints' in the Jewry occurs in either Book. The reason must be that St Radegund occurs in the Cambridge Field in right of the appropriation to the Nunnery of the tithes of St Clement's church, and in the Barnwell Field in right of those of All Saints'¹. In the matter of tithes St Clement's is associated with the transpontine parishes, just as we have seen that it belonged to the northern town and was separated by a wedge of uninhabited land from the southern town. Nothing can be clearer than the principle that the parsons of either quarter of Cambridge take tribute from the tillers of the Field to which that quarter is locally attached, not from strangers who till another Field. In respect of tithes each quarter is as independent of the other as each is e.g. of Trumpington, or as Trumpington is of Grantchester. May we not infer that once these quarters were indeed distinct townships, even as Trumpington is distinct from Grantchester?

In the ownership of the selions in the Fields we see a system in ruins, an ancient erection whose plan has been obliterated by the removal of party walls and whose foundations are buried in the dilapidations of centuries. In the allotment of the selion tithes to the several parishes we see an equal complexity but not the same antiquity. It is complex, for we know neither when nor how it was arranged that this or that selion should pay to this or that parish, nor why St Botolph should be neighboured in one furlong by St Mary and St Michael and in another by St Edward and St Andrew. But the multiplex distribution of parish tithe is not a thing of very remote antiquity. The tithe system has fitted itself into a far older Field system, and we have sound reasons for believing that the parish divisions of Cambridge were made in most cases after the Norman Conquest, in few or none much before it. On the other hand the bipartite division of the tithe from its very simplicity appears to point to a time much further removed from us; to a time when the tithe divisors were not a dozen or more parishes taking random toll from scattered selions, but two clearly delimited townships. If we will we may call these townships parishes, for, as Bishop Stubbs has told us, 'the parish is the ancient *tun-scipe* regarded ecclesiastically'. If we can fix approximately the time when tithes became a legal charge on holdings in the Cambridge Fields we shall be justified in saying that at that time Cambridge consisted of two townships, which were in effect parishes. Again Bishop Stubbs says 'The recognition of the legal obligation of tithe dates from the eighth century;...in A.D. 787 it was made imperative by the legatine councils held in England, which, being confirmed by the kings and ealdormen, had the authority of witenagemots'. In the eighth century then we may conclude that there were two townships in Cambridge, each a civil unit possessed of its separate Field, and an ecclesiastical unit contributing to its particular church or priest. Whether these two townships existed in times earlier than the eighth century is a question which we shall have to discuss.

¹ In a printed report of an action, *Anderson v. Broadbelt*, which took place in 1816, with respect to the right of Jesus College to the Radegund tithe in Barnwell Field, it is stated that 'the Inhabitants of All Saints' parish in perambulating their boundaries had uniformly included the fields of Barnwell in consequence of their right to the Rates on those Tithes.'

² *Const. History*, vol. I. p. 227.

³ *ibid.* p. 228.

Trumpington and Grantchester are separate parishes and have separate Fields. But the parallel in one respect is incomplete. Trumpington village stands a mile away from Grantchester and the river flows between. A strip of field, at its narrowest part scarcely so much as a quarter of a mile in breadth, parts the Cambridge townships, and we see no river between them. How shall we account for the singular juxtaposition of two communities so independent in their organisation? If we would solve this problem we must focus our eyes, not to the eighteenth century, as I began by asking you to do, but to the eighth, and as a preliminary to our investigation we must reconstitute the Cambridge that then was, by blotting out nearly every feature of the town that is.

Our enquiry first carries us from Cambridge town to the shire which has taken its name. By the treaty of Wedmore (878) Cambridgeshire passed into the Danelaw, and we may feel certain that its constitution into a shire was a result of the Danish occupation. Cambridge town existed before Cambridge shire, which, like all the Danelaw shires, is a purely artificial aggregation of certain hundreds geographically centred about a town—not the homeland of a race, such as were Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. But, though to appearance artificially carved out after the pattern of Hertfordshire or Bedfordshire, in some respects Cambridgeshire is one of the most anomalous of English counties. The Isle of Ely claims a certain independence of it. It shares its county officer, the sheriff, with Huntingdonshire. When the see of Ely was erected, in the reign of Henry I, the province assigned to it was the county of Cambridge. But one portion of it was excepted—the deanery of Fordham, consisting of the parishes contained between the Devil's Dyke and the Suffolk border, and until 1836 this portion remained subject to the bishop of Norwich. These singularities have a common explanation which is contained in the answer to the question—Was Cambridgeshire in East Anglia?

I do not think that it is possible to give a direct answer to that question. But we may positively affirm that some part of Cambridgeshire was in East Anglia, though the extent of that part varied at different times. Baeda says that Ely was 'in provincia Orientalium Anglorum'.¹ Abbo of Fleury in his *Passio Sancti Edmundi*,² written about the end of the tenth century, says of the boundaries of East Anglia:

On the south and east it is surrounded by the Ocean; on the north by vast fens and swamps; on the west it is contiguous to the rest of the island, and therefore accessible; but, to prevent frequent hostile incursions, it is fenced with a mound like a very high wall.

That is to say, East Anglia was bounded by the Devil's Dyke, which is in Cambridgeshire. William of Malmesbury³ bears similar evidence:

The kings of the East Angles held sway in the shire (*pagus*) of Grantebrig: and there is a bishop there whose see is at Ely: they ruled also in Northfolk and Southfolk, &c.

William is enumerating the pre-Danish kingdoms and the dioceses with which they corresponded, and we might assume that his meaning was that the whole of Cambridge-

¹ *Ecd. Hist.* iv. 19.

² *Annals and Memorials of Saint Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series), vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

³ *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Rolls Series), vol. i. p. 101.

shire was comprised in the domain of the East Anglian kings. But he is careful to guard against such an interpretation; for at the end of his list he adds:

These were the divisions of the kingdoms: but at different times different kings, as they grew stronger or weaker, either overstepped or lost these boundaries.

All that we may conclude from his words is that certain kings of East Anglia once ruled in Cambridgeshire, but did not necessarily rule the whole of it, and that the bishop's see at Ely was contained in that part of their dominion. On the other hand the town of Cambridge in post-Danish but pre-Conquest times was not in East Anglia. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *anno* 921, speaks of 'the *here*, i.e. the Danish army, among the East Angles...and the *here* which belonged to Grantanbrycge.' In the year 1010 the Chronicle tells us that, when the Danes landed at Ipswich, 'then the East Angles immediately fled, then stood Grantabrig shire fastly against them,' and we need make no doubt that on that occasion Cambridge town shared the steadfastness of the shire. Furthermore in the *Liber Eliensis*¹ we are told of a meeting which was held at Freckenham in the days of King Edgar, and which was attended by 'omnes maiores natu Orientalis Angliae et de Grantebruce.'

Next let us take the odd feature of the common shrievalty of the shires of Cambridge and Huntingdon. The sheriff, *vice-comes*, was theoretically the deputy of the earl, *comes*, and the earls of Huntingdon and Cambridge in the twelfth century were the Scottish kings. They inherited their dignity from Waltheof, who was earl of Huntingdon and Northampton. He was not, in name at least, earl of Cambridge, and the fact that he was not indicates that the shires of Cambridge and Huntingdon were not in his day clearly delimited; for his possessions in Cambridgeshire were broadcast, and some, probably all, of them belonged to the Honour of Huntingdon. In *Doomsday*, *tempore Regis Edwardi*, he appears as tenant in chief in twenty-one different villis of Cambridgeshire.

It is significant that all these villis lay in the south-western parts of the shire. Besides the town of Cambridge the shire contains sixteen hundreds. The Honour of Huntingdon was confined to seven of them, viz. Chesterton, Armingford, North Stow, Papworth, Long Stow, Triplow and Wetherley. These hundreds are parted from the rest of the county by the old Ouse, or West River, and by the River Cam from its junction with the West River to the southern boundary of the Liberty of Cambridge, next to Trumpington. South of Cambridge the hundred bounds are not defined by any of the courses of the river².

¹ ed. Stewart, p. 129.

² In Appendix, § 2, I give a list of hundreds and villis containing Waltheof's manors in the days of the Confessor. He was not the only *comes* who owned manors then in Cambridgeshire. Aelfgar had properties in thirty villis, Harold in ten, Gyrth in four, Tosti in two. The three first named held the earldom of East Anglia at various times in the Confessor's reign: Tosti was earl of the Northumbrians. It should be noted that Harold married a daughter of Aelfgar, and that Gyrth and Tosti were Harold's brothers. As Aelfgar was also earl of Mercia it is not surprising that his possessions extended to all parts of southern Cambridgeshire. There is one matter touching the Honour of Huntingdon which is enigmatic. *Hundred Rolls* (II. p. 356) inform us that earl David gave the Barnwell canons two acres before the gates of their original house, by St Giles' church: earl Malcolm gave the Radegund nuns the site of their church, next Grenecroft. The waste of the borough belonged to the kings of England. Neither in *Doomsday* nor in later records is there evidence that the earls of Huntingdon had any estate

The shires of Huntingdon and Northampton belonged to Mercia and to the Mercian diocese of Dorchester¹. It is reasonable to suppose that this Honour of Huntingdon, within the bounds of Cambridgeshire, also belonged to Mercia; for Cambridgeshire too, except the deanery of Fordham, before the bishopric of Ely was erected, was in the diocese of Lincoln, to which city the Mercian see was transferred from Dorchester in 1085. But the Ely monks always claimed to be independent of the bishop of Lincoln. One abbot, Symeon, was boycotted by them for accepting benediction from him. They asserted their right to make their monastic professions to any bishop they liked; and they usually did so to the East Anglian bishop of Thetford or Elmham².

So far the evidence establishes the following conclusions:

- (1) At the time of the Conquest south-western Cambridgeshire was attached to the Mercian earldom of Huntingdon.
- (2) The Isle of Ely claimed an ancient independence of Mercia and attachment to East Anglia.
- (3) The Fordham deanery was in East Anglia.
- (4) In post-Danish but pre-Conquest times the town of Cambridge was considered to be outside East Anglia.

To which kingdom, or, perhaps we should say, to which race did the south-eastern parts of the shire belong—the large segment which, speaking generally, may be said to lie eastward of the Cam from the point where it leaves Essex, at Great Chesterford, to Upware where it reaches the Fordham deanery? I think that we may find in that quarter a very definite demarcation between the earliest settlements of the Mercians and those of the East Anglians. The East Anglians, as the Fordham deanery shows, must have entered Cambridgeshire from the heath-lands between Thetford and Newmarket. In their westward advance they must have followed the chalk ridge parting the fens from the woods that fringe the border next Suffolk and Essex. Along this ridge the first comers of their race have left the track of their advance indelibly marked in the names which they gave to their settlements. In the Fordham deanery we have a region in which the all-but universal ending of the village names is *ham*, and from which the ending *ton* is altogether excluded. These hams seem to be projected from the side of Norfolk and Suffolk, where the suffix is common, though intermixed with *ton*, especially where the open country died into the forest. I do not think that the difference in termination conveys any difference in meaning. Whatever their origin and derivation, in effect both *ham* and *ton* mean no more than 'dwelling,' and whether a man called his dwelling *ham* or *ton* was purely a matter of fancy or fashion. The predilection for the *ham* suffix was carried with them by the East Anglians both into their colony about Ely and the western extension of the downs towards Cambridge. Ely is ringed about with hams. An interesting example is Haddenham, whence Ovini's stone, now in Ely cathedral, was brought. Ovini was Etheldreda's

in Cambridge borough. When Pain Peverel removed the canons to Barnwell the site which he gave them was acquired by concession of the king. I can only suppose that the earls got like sanction for their alms-gifts. Grenecroft was in the part of the borough which I regard as East Anglian.

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta*, I. p. 101.

² *Liber Eliensis*, pp. 184, 254. For the early relationship of the Isle of Ely to Cambridgeshire and East Anglia, see Appendix, § 3.

primus ministrorum, or 'over-alderman,' as the title is translated into Anglo-Saxon, and Baeda tells us that he was an East Anglian¹. In a westerly direction from Ely the hams extend over the Ouse to Somersham and Bluntisham, in Huntingdonshire, and to Cottenham and Willingham, in Cambridgeshire.

Westward of the Devil's Dyke the hams are continued along the routes of Icknield Street and the road from Newmarket to Cambridge. On the one line they pass the Fleam Dyke and end at Babraham; on the other they seem to die out at Teversham, the bounds of which are less than a mile away from the edge of Barnwell Field, next Stourbridge Chapel. It is even possible that we may track East Anglian settlements into the Liberty of Cambridge and find them at Coldham and at Newnham².

Beyond Cambridge, south and west, is a land in which tons are predominant. There can be no doubt as to the quarter whence these tons are projected. Though a few of them creep up between the hams and the Essex border they do not come from the adjacent parts of Essex, nor from Hertfordshire. In neither of these counties are either hams or tons characteristic. They come from Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire—from Mercia in fact—a region where tons are ubiquitous³.

I think that the evidence of place-names alone is sufficient to establish the conclusion that Cambridgeshire was settled by two races, and that it was the East Anglian race which occupied the region of the hams. But I do not base my case on that alone. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that in the year 905 the Danish army in East Anglia—which then, of course, was part of the Danelaw—violated the peace and harried all the Mercian land. 'Wherefore king Edward went after them as speedily as he could, and harried all their lands between the dykes and the Ouse, all as far north as the fens.' The area comprised between the Devil's Dyke and the Fleam Dyke, as well as that which extends northwards from the dykes to the Ouse in the neighbourhood of Stretham, is almost entirely occupied by villas with the *ham* suffix. It may therefore be taken for certain that this region, even so late as the tenth century, was regarded as part of East Anglia.

Without insisting too precisely that every Cambridgeshire ham was East Anglian and every ton Mercian, the tendency of the evidence of the village names goes decisively to show that the impact of the nationalities was at Cambridge. It could not have been otherwise. Cambridge stood at the head of the navigable river and commanded the ford where the three ancient roads from East Anglia, Essex and London converged at the passage of the Cam. If the walls of Grantacaestir which survived to Baeda's time were Roman walls, the advantages of such a ready-made *burh* could not be overlooked by either people. As the East Anglians appear to have penetrated Cambridgeshire as far as to Teversham, perhaps they settled in the southern part of the site of the town, while the Mercians occupied the other extremity of it. But the fact that six villages with the *ton* suffix immediately environ Cambridge suggests that the earliest settlers were Mercian, and that they occupied both sides of the river. Between them

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 3.

² Coldham Common is nowadays sometimes called Coldham's Common; but the name is Coldham in the *Liber Memorandum*, p. 323.

³ See Appendix, § 4, for the distribution of hams and tons around Cambridge.

⁴ Florence of Worcester speaks of the wasted land as '*terras quae inter terrae limitem sancti regis Eadmundi et flumen Usam sitae sunt*.' Matthew of Paris says it was '*inter duo fossata sancti Edmundi*,' i.e. between the Fleam Dyke and the Devil's Dyke; probably he is right about the locality, but I know not whether there is warrant for connecting the Fleam Dyke with the Liberty of St Edmund.

and their East Anglian neighbours there were doubtless border frays, but organised warfare only began when East Anglia and Mercia were consolidated into kingdoms. Raedwald, the first king of East Anglia who is more than a name to us, began his reign at some time before 617, in which year he defeated and slew Aethelfrith, king of Northumbria. Penda, the first historical king of Mercia, according to the Chronicle became king about the year 626. Under Raedwald East Anglia became the most powerful of the English kingdoms; after Aethelberht of Kent (d. 616) we are told by Baeda that he held the position of Bretwalda. He was apparently dead in 632, when his successor, king Eorpwald, was baptised. A few years later the East Anglian borderland was savagely raided by Penda of Mercia. He slew two East Anglian kings, Sigeberht and Egeric, in 637, and a third, Anna, the father of Etheldreda, in 654. The *Liber Eliensis* says that 'he turned Ely into a solitude' and 'panted for the slaughter of East Anglians'. But the Mercian power fell as suddenly as it rose, when Penda was defeated and slain at Winwaed in 655. Supremacy passed to Northumbria, and under its protection East Anglia enjoyed a breathing-space, during which, in 673, Etheldreda reoccupied the desolated site of Ely.

Not long afterwards, in the year 695, we get the first historical glimpse of the site of Cambridge in Baeda's familiar story of the discovery of the coffin-stone of Etheldreda at the desolate little city of Grantacaestir. The story invites some comments. Let me say that it is absolutely certain that Grantacaestir was Cambridge; and that for two reasons. First, the ancient name of the village was never Grantchester, but Grantsete, i.e. the settlers by the Granta, the second element in the name being the same as in Dorset. Among scores of slightly differing spellings of the name I do not remember to have seen one of a date prior to 1300 which in the second element remotely resembles *-chester*, or the medieval *-cestre*, which, with modifications, is the constant form in Chesterford and Chesterton¹. And, secondly, the *Liber Eliensis* (p. 64), retelling Baeda's story, states that the stone was found in a place 'qui usque hodie Aermeswerch dicitur,' and from the Barnwell *Liber Memorandorum* (p. 168) we learn that Aermeswerch was on the northern bank of the river, beneath the Castle. Next, let me say that there is not the smallest ground for the supposition, countenanced by J. R. Green in his *Making of England*, that this little city had lain waste for nearly 250 years, since the first English invaders sacked the Roman town. It is inconceivable that a site so important as Cambridge should have remained untenanted at a time when, as the village-names show, the whole of southern Cambridgeshire was thickly studded with English dwellings. Baeda is writing about an event which happened in his own day, for he was twenty-three in 695. The tie between East Anglia and his own Northumbria was then strong, and he shows an intimate acquaintance with East Anglian matters. He must have known well that Grantacaestir had been desolated in the recent border warfare of East Anglia and Mercia—perhaps in one of Penda's raids, more probably by East Anglians at a later time. Whichever was the fact, the inference seems inevitable that once this little city was held by the East Anglians, though, as the scene of the discovery of the coffin-stone was outside the Castle *vallum*, it by no means follows that the Castle itself was desolated, nor is there anything

¹ *Liber Eliensis*, pp. 5, 23.

² In *Pedes Finium* for Cambs., ed. Rye, there are thirty-seven spellings unequivocally of the Grantsete type: in one late instance (of Henry V's reign) the ambiguous form Grantceste occurs: between the reigns of Richard I and Richard III the complete *-cester*, or *-cestre*, suffix does not occur once.

in Baeda's tale to compel the belief that the southern side of the river was uninhabited.

In the century of comparative peace which followed it is likely that there was some demarcation of bounds. In the complete absence of documentary evidence everything is conjectural, but there is good ground for believing that at some time in the eighth century a partition was arranged between the kingdoms which fixed their boundaries at the West River and the Cam, in its navigable part at and below Cambridge. Only I must premise, as I hope hereafter to prove, that the Cam at Cambridge did not then flow in its present channel. Above the town the line was fixed so as to include in East Anglia all the hams together with a few tons which border the Shelford branch of the river¹. To either people fell a region which, at a later period when the county was divided into sixteen hundreds, was represented by eight of those hundreds. Cambridge, the kernel of the county, was environed by the five hundreds of Flendish, Triplow, Wetherley, North Stow and Chesterton. Flendish was an East Anglian hundred, the others Mercian².

What is the evidence for such a partition of southern Cambridgeshire between the two kingdoms? I have shown that the Mercian earldom of Huntingdon was confined to certain hundreds in the south-western parts of the county. Its limitation to those parts points to a time before the Danish occupation: for the whole county was included in the Danelaw, and after its reconquest by Edward the Elder the county boundary was placed at the Devil's Dyke. The earldom was therefore older than the shire. From that great storehouse of information on the subject of early Cambridge, the *Liber Memorandorum*, I derive an interesting fact which in a singular way corroborates the evidence of Doomsday as to the limits of the earldom. The *Liber Memorandorum* tells us more. If we question it a little closely it tells us that there was a time when the Castle and the Great Bridge at Cambridge were exclusively in the hands of the Mercians³.

¹ At a later time the East Anglian boundary receded to the Devil's Dyke. Probably this happened about the year 921, when king Edward recovered Cambridgeshire from the East Anglian Danes. The boundary may possibly have been fixed there about the year 792, when Offa, king of Mercia, invaded East Anglia (Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. p. 84). But Offa's invasion led to no permanent occupation of East Anglia. Had it been so the earldom of Huntingdon would have extended to the Devil's Dyke. Moreover, we have seen that in 905 the territory between the dykes was occupied by the Danes of East Anglia. After Offa's death Beornwulf of Mercia again invaded East Anglia 'ut debitum Mercii regnum a tempore Offae'; but the East Anglians in 823 sought the protection of Egbert of Wessex and, aided by him, slew Beornwulf. Two years later they slew his successor, Luðcan, and the later kings of Mercia became tributary to Wessex (Malmesbury, *op. cit.* i. p. 95).

² The town itself was not a hundred, though it reckoned 'pro hundreto.' The *Liber Eliensis* records several instances of *coetus* (which perhaps we should translate 'shire-moots') held at Cambridge in king Edgar's reign. One of them is described as 'grande placitum civium et hundretanorum,' from which we may infer that the *cives* were not *hundretani*. It seems probable that hundreds, like shires, only came into existence in the tenth century. Mr Chadwick, who has been helpful to me in many matters on which he is entitled to speak with authority, says in his *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 240, 'There seems to be no evidence for the existence of the hundred system before the reign of Edmund' (940-946). We may take it as something more than probable that Cambridge from the first was left entirely outside their organisation, though it paid geld to the king as any hundred of the shire.

³ In vol. xi. pp. 324-346, of the Society's Communications, Mr St John Hope has convincingly shown that the Castle proper was entirely the creation of the Normans; but he says that there can be little doubt that it stood within a Roman work. I might add that there is equally little doubt that there was some kind of fortress there—whether we call it *burh* or not—in Saxon times. When I speak of the Castle, without describing it as Norman, it must be understood that I speak of the larger stronghold,

The Castle and the Bridge were the two features of primitive Cambridge from which it drew its military importance, and to them it owed the names by which it was successively known, Grantacaestir and Grantabrycge. The earlier name, Grantacaestir, implies, what is otherwise fairly certain, that there was no bridge in 695. And there was no bridge in the time of Felix of Crowland, whose *floruit* is 715-730. For in his *Life of St Guthlac*¹, speaking of the Great Fen, he says:

In the central parts of Britain there is a fen of vast extent, which begins at the banks of the river Grante, not far from the *castellum* called Granta.

As the name Grantabrycge occurs first in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the year 875 the Bridge may have been built at any time in the last three-quarters of the eighth or the first three-quarters of the ninth century. We can hardly believe that it was built at a time when hostile tribes occupied the banks at either end of it.

In Saxon times three duties, the *trinoda necessitas*, were imposed on the thane, or landed proprietor. They were the duties (1) of service in the *fyrð*, or national army, (2) of garrison service, *burh-bot*, and (3) of building and repairing bridges, *brycg-geweorc*. Either as personal services, or as payments in commutation for them, these duties long survived the Conquest². For the Castle and the Bridge the town of Cambridge was not responsible. They were, both of them, in the custody of the sheriff, and for their maintenance and repair he collected duties from particular estates in the county. The *burh-bot*, after the Conquest, came to be known as 'ward-pennies,' in Latin *warda castri*³; and the *brycg-geweorc* was called *pontagium*, or 'pontage.' In the *Liber Memorandorum* (pp. 238-263) there is a list of all *feoda*, or public duties, charged on lands in the county of Cambridge. Among them, besides the three 'needs,' are included suit at the county court, sheriff's aid and the hide geldage. The other *feoda* are charged indiscriminately in all parts of the county; but the levy of ward-pennies and pontage is limited to eight hundreds in the southern and western portions of the county, viz. the seven already mentioned as comprising the Mercian Honour of Huntingdon, and the adjoining hundred of Whittlesford. Not a single estate in the eight remaining hundreds was charged with either pontage or castle ward for Cambridge. Pontage was not paid at all by the villis of south-eastern Cambridgeshire, for there were no bridges to maintain there⁴. It was paid out of certain properties in the Isle of Ely, but exclusively for Ely Bridge and Aldreth Bridge, which were maintained by the Abbot or Bishop⁵. Ward-pence the East Anglians of Cambridgeshire did pay, but not to Cambridge Castle. For his possessions in the Isle of Ely the Abbot paid—as which was probably coextensive with the enclosure which, whether Roman or not, it is convenient to call the *castrum*. Whatever it was, there was a *castellum* at Cambridge in the eighth century, as is shown by Felix of Crowland.

¹ *Memorials of St Guthlac*, ed. Birch, p. 17.

² 'The *trinoda necessitas* first appears in genuine Anglo-Saxon charters about the beginning of the eighth century. It occurs however earlier in disputed ones.' Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. I p. 76, *note*.

³ See Appendix, § 2, *Warda castri* and Ward-pennies.

⁴ In the thirteenth century Whittlesford Bridge was maintained by the burgesses of Cambridge, who took tolls for its repair. *Hundred Rolls*, II. p. 571.

⁵ Probably there was no bridge at Aldreth until the Conqueror made one for his assault on the Island. 'Rex...ad Alrethethe, ubi aquae insulae minus latae sunt, per pontem quem pridem paraverat suum iterum adplicuit exercitum' (*Liber Eliensis*, p. 229). Ely Bridge, which was a wooden draw-bridge (Stewart's *Ely Cathedral*, pp. 178 and 181), may have existed earlier: compare the Conqueror's charter in *Liber Eliensis*, p. 256, 'Denique praecipite ut illi homines faciant pontem de Heli qui meo praescripto et dispositione hucusque illum soliti sunt facere.'

we might expect—to Norwich Castle¹. The *Liber Memorandum* does not mention a single property in the south-eastern hundreds which owed castle ward at all. The Hundred Rolls mention several which did so, but not one which owed it to Cambridge. In almost every case the ward was due to baronial castles, such as Richmond or Rockingham, and in the instances in which the place of ward is unspecified it is tolerably obvious that the place was not Cambridge. As if to emphasize this distinction between the south-western and the south-eastern hundreds the *Liber Memorandum* places the former together at the beginning of its list, and the latter together at the end of it².

If the Mercians, as the keepers of the Castle and Bridge, were masters of the military position, the more civilised East Anglians held the trading centres. The market, the mills, the three Cambridge fairs all belonged to the southern town³. These were institutions which, we may guess, had their beginnings in an age long before the Conquest. Yet it is hard to conceive that the northern acropolis was wholly without such commercial adjuncts. A mill, or mills, it certainly had if any conclusion for primitive ages may be based on the name of Milne Lane, in St Peter's parish, which I find in a deed of Henry VI's time⁴. As the lane was next the river the mill was evidently a water-mill. For the former existence of a market in the northern town there is a curious piece of evidence in the *Historia Cantebrigiensis Academiae* of Dr Caius (p. 9). I do not think that it has been remarked before, and for calling my attention to it I have to thank my friend, Mr J. W. Clark. Dr Caius says:

Close to the Castle is a market cross, constructed of solid stone, on the northern side of the Castle. It is called the market cross from the circumstance that there is a constant tradition that about it the market of the old town was formerly held.

From the *Liber Memorandum* and notes in the Field Books, which date from the sixteenth century, we know exactly where this cross stood⁵. It is called in the Field Books 'y^e hie crosse at y^e Castle End,' and it was close to a stone called Ashwyke stone, a recognised mere-stone standing on the western side of Castle street and just at its junction with Pleasant Row, anciently called Hare Hill or Hore Hill. By 'the old town' Dr Caius meant, as the context shows, the northern town, and he regarded

¹ See the precept of the Conqueror in *Liber Eliensis*, p. 260, 'Munitionem suam habeat in Norwic, et homines sui sint ibi cum opus fuerit.' Richard I allowed the Bishop to do ward in Ely instead of at Norwich: see his charter in the *Ramsey Cartulary*, I. pp. 115, 116.

² Perhaps another indication of this partition of southern Cambridgeshire—a partition in this case racial rather than political—is to be found in the limitation of the cottar class of the villain population to seven of the eight Mercian hundreds. I reserve the matter, as disputable, to Appendix, § 5, Bordars and Cottars.

³ The three fairs alluded to were Sturbridge Fair, Midsummer Fair and Garlic Fair; but at the date of *Hundred Rolls* the tolls of each of them were appropriated to religious bodies. The only fair which belonged to the townsmen was that which was held in Rogation week, and for which they held a charter from king John. This fair was held in the town of Cambridge, as *Hundred Rolls* (II. p. 391) inform us and was altogether distinct from Reach Fair held in the same week. Reach Fair did not belong to the townsmen: two parts of it belonged to the King and one to the Prior of Ely (*Hundred Rolls*, II. p. 484). When the Rogation Fair at Cambridge ceased to exist, where it was held, and when and how the townsmen acquired the Reach Fair—these are questions to which I can only give the answer so often given by the hundred jurors to king Edward's interrogatories, 'nichil scimus.'

⁴ See charter 259 in my *Priory of St Radegund*, Antiq. Soc. Publications, 1898.

⁵ See the passages from the Field Books cited in my Communication, *On the Watercourse called Cambridge*, Antiq. Soc. Communications, vol. IX. pp. 64, 65.

the existence of market and cross as evidence that the northern townsmen bought and sold among themselves and not in the southern town. If this 'constant tradition' has any basis of fact the northern market must have passed out of existence at a very early date. *Hundred Rolls* and contemporary deeds furnish ample evidence of the importance of the southern market in the thirteenth century but give no hint of one at the Castle End. We must therefore assume either that the market originally existed at the Castle End and was afterwards transferred to the southern town, or that the two markets existed in the earliest times coevally. The former supposition is improbable. It would be odd if the traders of the southern town had no other mart than the inconveniently distant one at the extreme verge of the Castle End. If on the other hand the two markets existed contemporaneously the phenomenon of a double market is only intelligible on the hypothesis of two separate trading communities. The tradition is faint, and the inferences to be drawn about this phantasmal market are problematic. But I gratify myself with a picture of Mercian merchandizers clustered round Ashwyke stone, there secure from the peril to life and goods in which a visit to the over-river market would have involved them.

And why at the circumference of their town and on the crown of a steep hill should the Mercians fix their market, which might have been held so much more conveniently in the quarter of the Bridge? Perhaps the explanation lies in a matter of temporary exigence. Scored with trenches in every part, the rectilinear diversions of natural watercourses, the region at either end of the Bridge reveals itself as a battleground on which through long ages contending nations drew parallels, offensive and defensive, which, having served their purpose, passed into desuetude and oblivion. Most remarkable and, at first sight, most inexplicable is that watercourse in the northern town which in medieval times went by the curious name 'Cambridge.' On the subject of this watercourse I read a Communication to this Society some years ago¹, and I will recapitulate what I then showed, on documentary evidence, to have been the lines which it followed. Beginning from the stream which we now call the Bin Brook, at the back of St John's College, and parting from it at something like a right angle it made in the direction of the School of Pythagoras. About forty feet short of that building it made another rectangular turn and ran parallel with its south-eastern wall. Continuing in a straight line it passed at Magdalene Street under a bridge, which was called Cambridge Bridge, and is marked in Lyne's plan of 1574 as an iron grating, *crates ferrea*, in the middle of the street. Near the western end of the high bank in Magdalene garden it once more turned at right angles and passing between the Entrance Court of Magdalene College and the Pepysian Library discharged itself into the river².

¹ *Communications*, vol. ix. p. 61.

² Mr J. W. Clark has pointed out to me a passage in Dr Caius' *Historia Cantabrigie'nsis Academiae*, p. 9, which amply confirms the view taken in my Communication that the watercourse called Cambridge was a branch of the river Cam. 'The city (i.e. the northern town) was originally washed by the river called Canta, or Granta, which flowed at the foot of the Castle Hill, and was then much nearer to the river than it is now. This we may learn from the fact that the channel of the old Canta is still visible in the vestiges of a running stream, and is called "old Cantebrieg." As further evidence Dr Caius cites the passage in Henry of Huntingdon referred to in my Communication (p. 72). I may add a short note from *Hundred Rolls* (vol. i. p. 55). One of the complaints of the townsmen in 1278 was that a servant of the house of the clerks of Merton (i.e. of the house called the School of Pythagoras) had appropriated to his masters a certain *fossatum* belonging to the commonalty of the town, so that no one could fish in it, as had once been the custom; whereby the whole town was damnified. No doubt the *fossatum* was the Cambridge watercourse.

The rectangular space enclosed between the river and the watercourse was known in the twelfth century as Aermeswerch. The name is Saxon, and, whatever the first element in it may mean, the second is *weorc*, a fortress or stronghold¹. Now what purpose did this Saxon 'work' serve? Its name and its lines preclude any association with the Norman Castle. Nor could it have supplemented the defence of the banked enclosure which we may call the *castrum*. It does not turn round the angles of the *castrum*: at one end it is longer, at the other it is shorter than the southern bank of the *vallum*. Then there is the singular circumstance which I pointed out in my Communication that it was covered on its *outer* northern and eastern sides by a bank, on the north near Northampton Street, on the east near the Master's Lodge in Magdalene garden. Beyond this eastern bank is another which extends from the south-eastern angle of the *vallum* to the river and marks the boundary of Chesterton parish. Beyond question Cambridge watercourse was a defence of the Bridge quarter from enemies whose attack was to be expected from the side of the Castle and from Chesterton. And these enemies too were suspicious of attack from the side of the watercourse, for they raised banks on their side of it to increase the difficulty of transit. Let us go back to Baeda's desolate little city of Aermeswerch, by the river side, and let me remind you that that desolation was the result of warfare in times not far from Baeda's own, and that, whether we regard the desolators as East Anglian or Mercian, the same conclusion is arrived at, viz. that the Bridge quarter on the northern bank was once in East Anglian hands. We may guess that this was so in the Bretwaldaship of Raedwald: probably it remained so at the time of the visit of the Ely brethren. The immediate dominion of the East Anglian kings would then be limited by the Cam, of which this Cambridge watercourse was veritably a navigable branch. As for the Mercian 'ton' within the *castrum* may we not guess that at such a time, when it stood divorced from Baeda's *civitacula*, men called it Chesterton? How does it happen that at this day the Castle is not in Cambridge but in the parish of Chesterton? Why was Cambridge Castle with its appurtenances, like Chesterton vill but unlike Cambridge town, a royal manor? Why is Chesterton parish the only parish, and Chesterton hundred the only hundred, which reaches to the house area of Cambridge without an intervening expanse of Cambridge Field? I venture a hypothesis that will answer all these questions. It is because Chesterton was the town in the *castrum*, not the village in the fields that we know; because the town in the *castrum* was not in Cambridge; because from Cambridge it was parted by no expanse of undefended field but by its stockaded mounds and by that ancient river, the river Canta, whose vestiges were visible to Dr Caius in the sixteenth century, and which the fifteenth century townsmen called Cambrigge. There was a time when it was the folk of Chesterton that garrisoned the Castle; when the town south of the watercourse was wholly in possession of people of another stock; when the Castle was the cliff-buttress on which the waves of East Anglian attack broke fruitlessly. Within the Castle precinct the Mercian garrison and the country-folk from the Mercian hinterland could gather for peaceful traffic. Beyond the ditch was desolation and the desolator.

Of course I am aware that Chesterton now claims only the site of the Norman Castle. Cambridge has grown at the expense of Chesterton, and the *Liber Memorandorum* (pp. 167—169) tells us that the county did not acquiesce in the usurpation of

¹ The *Liber Eliensis* (p. 64) translates the name by *opus miseri*, the poor man's work, from A.S. *earm* or *aerm*, poor. The first element looks like the genitive of a proper name.

the townspeople without fight. King Edward I 'had begun Cambridge Castle' in a year which the Barnwell chronicle does not state but which Mr Clark tells us was 1283, and first he had to determine what precisely was included in the Castle precinct—whether the whole *castrum* or only the Norman mound and bailey. Five years before this, when the Hundred Rolls survey was made, the first question addressed to the jurors who represented the burgesses of Cambridge was—What demesne manors does our lord the King hold in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon? And they made reply on oath that the King holds in his hand the *castrum* of Cambridge with its *comitatus*, as his predecessors held it, and has given it over to the sheriff that now is. They did not say, and they were not asked to say, what was the extent of the *castrum*; but as the wider area was then occupied by many townsmen's houses it is likely that they meant the site of the Norman castle only. Nor was it for them to say that the Castle was in Cambridge. Had that question been put to them I do not think that they could have affirmed that the Castle was in any ward or parish of the town. They would even have been anxious to make it clear that it was not in the town, and that the town was not answerable for its maintenance. Besides, within the *castrum* the sheriff held his county court, and to be free from the exactions of the sheriff's court the townsmen paid yearly farm to the King in blanch and by tale. Then the Castle had a *comitatus* consisting of sundry plots of ground belonging to the fief of the *vice-comes*. They might belong to that *comitatus*, or county, in which the sheriff held fiefs; but in the borough the sheriff neither held nor could hold any fief. If the *castrum* and its *comitatus* were in the shire, and not in the borough, in what parish and hundred should they be but in Chesterton? The same question as to royal manors was put to the jurors of Chesterton hundred and they replied in much more definite terms than it was possible for the Cambridge men to use. They said that the King held no manor in the vill of Chesterton, but that his predecessor king John had held the vill in his hand and had let it at farm to the Canons of Barnwell. It was perhaps the contention of the King's advisers that the *castrum* was a relic of the royal manor of Chesterton, omitted or reserved when the rest of it was let at farm. The theory would be plausible; it may have had countenance in tradition and a foundation of fact. Except the Castle and its fee there never was a royal demesne in Cambridge; except the contiguous vill of Chesterton there never had been a royal demesne in any of the townships which environ Cambridge.

The King ordered that a perambulation should be made of the Castle bounds, and, as the perambulators whom he selected were not burgesses but 'free lieges of the county,' it appears that he assumed that the *castrum*, whether the greater or the smaller one, was not in Cambridge. But the county lieges were by no means content with even the larger interpretation of the King's wishes. They claimed for him not only the whole of the larger *castrum* but the whole of the Aermeswerch quarter which lay between it and the river. As regards the latter they were, no doubt, in error, as was immediately pointed out by the Prior of Barnwell, the Nuns of St Radegund and other owners of property in that neighbourhood. But they must have had reasons for bringing the county so far into the borough, and I suggest that the tradition yet lived among them of a time when the king who held the *castrum* in his hand was not the king who held Cambridge town¹.

¹ The *Liber Memorandorum* does not tell us what was the issue of king Edward's claim. Of course the Castle is now in Chesterton parish, but, oddly enough, the Castle fee, which apparently consisted

The name Chesterton can scarcely be connected with any other *chester* than that at Grantacaestir; for we may disregard the insignificant Arbury, a British work which can hardly have been dignified with the title of *chester*. As the venerable name of Grantacaestir was in a later age transferred to the little village of the settlers by the Granta, so it is to be supposed that that of Chesterton became attached to the town which lay half a mile away from the *chester*. This happened before the Conquest; it must have been when the northern and southern towns were merged in one by the fusion of East Anglians and Mercians under the common rule of the Danes or the Wessex kings.

Professor Maitland says, 'If ever there were two túns...we are compelled to ask ourselves what was the name of the southern or eastern tún¹.' I am not sure that we are compelled to find an answer to that question if my theory be adopted that the town was originally wholly Mercian, afterwards for a space—the Castle only excepted—wholly East Anglian, and was only parted between the two peoples after it had been occupied for 200 years by men of English blood. But if the double town had indeed two names, that was so in times which we may fairly call prehistoric. The name of Grantebrycge emerges and the history of the town begins in 875. A vast deal of water had passed by the *chester* and under the bridge since the days of Raedwald and Penda. That one or other name should have been disused and forgotten since East Anglian and Mercian kings ruled in a divided Cambridge is only what might be expected. Yet I am disposed to think that the town on the northern bank, or at least one quarter in it, had a distinctive name of its own when the Conqueror built his Castle, and that that name was Cantebrig. I think that the name was older than the Conquest, though how much older it may have been I will not guess. But I will say that it is nothing to the point that Cantebrig, as the name of the united town, cannot be traced to Saxon times. *Hundred Rolls* and writings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have many Cambridge locality names of the purest Saxon type². None of them can be traced to Saxon times: some of them occur only once or twice; and nearly all of them passed out of use before the middle ages were over. But the discussion of the name Cantebrig requires an appendix to itself³.

It is useless to speculate whether Cambridge in the centuries which preceded 875 had one name or two, and our lack of knowledge need not prevent us from reaching a probable conclusion from such knowledge as is within our reach. The conclusion which I have arrived at is that before the apparition of the Danes, and probably for a century and a half before it, the site of Cambridge was parted between the Mercians and the East Anglians. But though, in the survival into post-Conquest times of usages which took root in the eighth and ninth centuries, we see evidence of a long occupa-

of the land called Sale, between the Castle and the corner of Victoria Road is, and long has been, included in the borough. It was acquired by the clerks of Merton and in the fourteenth century was reckoned a part of Cambridge Field.

¹ *Township and Borough*, p. 182.

² Dagenhale, Estenhale, Eldestede, Stocton, the Holm or Hulmus are district names in *Hundred Rolls* and early deeds. Henneye and Hennably survived until the later middle ages. The fields are full of names of Saxon pattern. Remarkable among ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in Cambridge is Maideneburge, where, the *Liber Eliensis* (p. 137) tells us, a great moot was held in the last quarter of the tenth century. Was it the Castle mound? We naturally think of Maiden Castle in Dorset, as well as of the name 'borough' formerly given to transpontine Cambridge.

³ See Appendix, § 6, Grantebrycge and Cantebrig.

tion of their respective areas, it is not to be supposed that the two communities lived in unbroken peace and mutual trust. The constant alliance of East Anglia with Northumbria or Wessex points to quite other relations. It may seem strange that these rival peoples should have lived in such remarkable juxtaposition if they were divided from one another by no more than a strip of open field, which belonged to the East Anglians but lay equally open to their Mercian neighbours. But if we understand that these rivals were, what 'rivals' should mean, 'dwellers on the opposite banks of a river,' the seeming strangeness will disappear. And I am now going to offer you reasons for the belief that is in me that a thousand years ago, or more, these communities were parted by the river Cam, or by considerable branches of it.

You will see obvious objections to such a hypothesis. The parishes of St Clement and St Sepulchre, the areas of which I have constantly assigned to the northern town, are on the southern bank of the river. The southern parishes of St Botolph, St Edward, St Michael and All Saints extend across the river at the Backs and include the river-side grounds of Queens', King's, Clare, Trinity and the larger part of those of St John's. The boundary which separates those parishes from St Giles' is drawn along the artificial trenches which part the College grounds from the green that skirts Queens' Road. This is surely a curious and suggestive phenomenon. We may be quite sure that no parishioner, unless he lived in Newnham hamlet, ever crossed from the western bank to attend any of these four churches. Since the mammoth wallowed there no human being has ever set his habitation on the low-lying land from Queens' garden to the St John's New Court. On the slight elevation at Newnham the Carmelites once made a settlement, but they were driven out by floods. And as the parsons had no flocks to seek in that wilderness so they had no tithes to draw from it; for it was common pasture of the town. And in primitive ages, before bridges were made, no prudent East Anglian householder, whose byre was near the Market Place, ferried pigs and cows to the western bank and left them there at the mercy of any Mercian who took the trouble to cross a narrow ditch. Above the town and below it the river is a parish boundary: at Cambridge, except in the quarter of the Bridge, it seems to be ignored. And yet it is in the Bridge quarter that the hypothesis postulates that the Cam, as we see it to-day, was *not* a boundary between two hostile peoples.

The circumstance that St Giles' parish is nowadays so effectively parted from St Clement's, coupled with the fact that it has no natural demarcation from the southern parishes, at first sight seems to demolish the theory that St Giles', together with St Clement's and St Sepulchre's, formed a settlement distinct from the southern town. The solution of this difficulty is partly to be found in my Communication, already referred to, on the Watercourse called Cambridge. When I wrote that Communication various questions suggested themselves to me to which I did not then see an answer. The solution which I now see is simple enough—revolutionary perhaps, but not hazardous. I am going to ask you to obliterate from your map of primitive Cambridge the whole of the present course of the Cam from the Mill Pit above Queens' to St John's New Court.

That the high banks of the modern stream along this stretch are artificial is patent to the eye. That its angles and curves are not those of a natural river is evident if we compare it with the river-channels on and above Sheep's Green. That its course has been diverted in parts within historical times is shown in the plan of

the ground at the back of Trinity and Trinity Hall which Mr Clark gives in the fourth volume of the *Architectural History*. But I go further and argue that this river-course did not exist at all before the artificial leats were made which bring the water from the river above Sheep's Green to the Mill above Queens' and that at Newnham. Between these leats we may still see old river-beds wandering over the low ground, and in exceptional floods the water pours into them over the banks of the leats. At this low level existed the Mills, which, next to its strategic advantages, gave most importance to early Cambridge. One of them, Zouch's Mill, existed there until 1352. The slightness of the river-fall suggested the weiring of the river and the construction of the high water-channels, and these works may possibly be as old as the Conquest. With the growth of the town and the increase of river traffic came another need, the construction of hithes accessible to packhorses or wheeled vehicles, for which a hard, sloping bank, not liable to inundation, was indispensable. Hence the diversion of the river into the artificial channel at the back of King's and Queens'.

Bowtell in his MSS. (vol. III. pp. 687 and foll.) has some interesting comments on the old course of the river. Among other things he says:

In the year 1756 the kerb of a well, *within the river*, two feet below the bed of it, was discovered in preparing the foundation of Queens' College new building, and was examined by Mr Essex, the architect.

It appears to me impossible that the natural river could have maintained itself at the high level of its present bed. In times of exceptional flood, as in November 1894, a torrent sweeps in uninterrupted course from Newnham Pool to Trinity Paddocks, and the surface level is lowest next the ditch that girdles Queens' grove. It was lower still four hundred years ago. For four centuries and longer Cambridge has been steadily raising the level of the grounds on the western side of the river. We have seen the process going on in recent years on Queens' Green and in Trinity Paddocks. It was going on in 1475, when the town covenanted with Queens' College to be allowed to deposit rubbish on the space between the College grove and the road leading to Newnham¹. Bowtell has interesting evidence of what was being done in his time. Writing in 1805 he says:

The grounds on the back of the Colleges, lying on the west side of the river, have been considerably raised within the last 20 years, especially in 1791-2-3, by means of earth taken out of the churchyards of St Michael, St Edward, Great St Mary, All Saints, Great St Andrew, St Giles and St Sepulchre.

Again, writing of the site of Sir George Darwin's house at Newnham, he says:

A neat dwelling-house was erected here some years ago by Mr Beales, a merchant, who caused the surface to be considerably raised, the ground thereabouts being then very low, though not so swampy as it formerly was, when several small streams ran through it and occasioned the erection of as many little bridges....Hence this part of the town came to be denominated Small Bridges.

¹ *Architectural History*, vol. II. p. 6.

The small streams of which Bowtell writes must once have been considerable currents, and they must have brought down not a part, but the whole body, of the water from the upper river. Their general course, as I pointed out in my Communication, was along the ditches at the backs of the Colleges. Their devious channels have been straightened out of all resemblance to a natural river, and the parish bounds have been made to conform with their artificial course. Part of the ground through which the old streams found their way is called in the Field Books 'Thousand Willows,' and the name suggests that a dense growth of trees in old times increased the impassability of the morass that lay between Mercian and East Anglian.

At St John's Wilderness the old river was joined by the Bin Brook coming from Coton Field. A little further on the united stream parted into three branches. The westernmost was the watercourse called Cambrigge. The middle one ran into the present channel of the Cam at the end of Fisher's Lane, where the Bin Brook still discharges. Neither of these courses served as a parish limit. The third was and is the boundary between the parishes of All Saints and St Giles. It existed as an open watercourse until St John's College New Court was erected, and was known as the St John's College Ditch. It now passes from a weir on the Bin Brook under the New Court, and emerges in the river at a wooden door opposite the Library. On either side it had the low peaty grounds which occasioned so much difficulty and expense when Rickman's building was put up. Nature required small assistance here to part East Anglian from Mercian, though the straight course and the rectangular bend of the Ditch, where it quits the Bin Brook, indicate here too an artificial modification.

It is exactly where the St John's Ditch met the present river that the latter, for the only part of its course, begins to be a parish boundary, and parts St Giles' from St Clement's. The reason of this must be that the Ditch represents the main branch of the old Cam, which from this point followed the present course of the river to the Bridge. Where the modern river begins to be a parish boundary it ceases to be the tribal bound. A little consideration will unravel this puzzle. Above the point of junction it was not so much the river as the marsh that divided the peoples. Near Newnham the marsh was at its narrowest, and fords or bridges existed. There the extension of the parishes of Little St Mary and St Botolph across the ancient river channels proves that either bank was in the hands of the East Anglians. But between Newnham and St John's New Court there was a Serbonian bog profound enough to sink armies whole. From north to south, from east to west, even in the later middle ages, no trackway traversed it, and its wandering streams knew neither bridge nor ford of sufficient consequence to have a name¹. At the Bridge the river was fordable. The banks were lower than they are now² and the volume of the water was less, partly because it was not weired below the Bridge, partly because it was

¹ Queens' Road, from Newnham to the Madingley Road, is modern. The sixteenth century notes in the Field Books give the fullest particulars of roads and driftways in the fields on the western side of the river. They all traversed the high ground at a distance from the Backs. The most important was Barton Way, which began at Ashwyke Stone, near the Castle, crossed the University Rifle Range, where traces of its hedgerows are still discernible, and joined the present Barton Road at Barton Cross, which stood on the boundary of Cambridge and Coton Fields. Garret Hostel Bridge is first mentioned by Dr Caius in 1573. (See the quotation from his History in *Architectural History*, vol. I. p. 215, note.)

² In the year 1273 there was a great flood at Cambridge, and the water rose five feet above the level of the Great Bridge. The fact is recorded in the *Chronica* of John de Oxenedes (Rolls Series), p. 221.

dissipated in the two already mentioned channels, viz. the main river and the Cambridge watercourse, and a third of which I have yet to speak. Though the banks were lower there was no marsh near the Bridge, about which houses were congregated on either side in the earliest times of which we have record. Even before the Bridge was built the transit from one side to the other was perfectly free. Between Mercian and Mercian the river was no bar to intercourse.

So far I have attempted to show that the old western course of the Cam, indicated by parish boundaries, served, with its environing marsh, as an impassable barrier between the northern and the southern town. I shall now take the opposite side of the river and examine the bounds of All Saints' parish on the side next the northern town. The boundary begins at a bay in the river between the Library of St John's College and the Master's garden. It follows the route of a lane, called St John's Lane, which belonged to the Corporation and was closed in 1862, when the Chapel was built and the First Court extended. It crosses St John's Street near the Divinity Schools, skirts the northern side of the churchyard and of All Saints' Passage, passes across Bridge Street between the Hoop Hotel and the corner of Jesus Lane, and so gets to Park Street. Here we may stop for the present and consider what indications there may be of the existence of an ancient watercourse in this neighbourhood. A recent Communication of Professor Hughes, on *Superficial Deposits under Cambridge*¹, supplies exactly the information which is wanted. In that Communication he speaks of 'a depression running across from St John's College to somewhere near Jesus Lane,' and he goes on to say:

There was a deep ditch through here which was exposed when the foundations for the Divinity Schools were dug. The ditch seems to have formed the northern boundary of All Saints' churchyard and was full of human bones, probably thrown in from time to time as new interments in that crowded churchyard necessitated the disturbance of ancient graves. The ditch crossed the street and passed away under St John's College².

I think that Professor Hughes' remarks leave no room for doubt that in this deep ditch we have lighted on an old watercourse, or branch of the river, which parted the Field of the southern folk from the houses of the northern town. It starts im-

¹ *Communications*, vol. XI. p. 411.

² The silence of early documents relating to property in the vicinity is negative evidence for the extreme antiquity of this ditch. It formed the northern boundary of the town land which in the twelfth century was occupied by the Hospital, but Mr R. F. Scott assures me that there is no record of its existence in the muniments of St John's College. Among the early charters of St Radegund's Nunnery are several relating to houses which adjoined All Saints' churchyard, but none of these properties are described as abutting on a ditch. The *Hundred Rolls* and the *Liber Memorandorum* are equally silent about it. The bones discovered in it unquestionably prove that this was the position of the cemetery of the Hospital. In the treasury of St John's College there is a thirteenth century lease of a messuage belonging to Richard Crocheman, which is described as abutting on three of its sides on the cemetery of All Saints' church, the cemetery of the Hospital and *quemdam Judaisium* (compare with this *Architectural History*, vol. II. p. 248, note). Baker in his *History of St John's College* (ed. Mayor, I. p. 43) speaks of 'an old grant where there is mention of a house standing betwixt the cemetery of All Saints' and the cemetery of St John's hospital, so that they were only parted by a house; and the many bones and skulls dug up under the neighbouring houses sufficiently evince that a cemetery has been there.' The Hospital acquired the right of sepulture *ubi voluerint* by a license dated about 1210 (Charter 180 in my *Priory of St Radegund*). The ditch must have been filled in before that time.

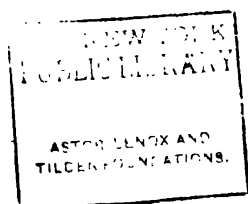
mediately opposite the ditch under St John's New Court and was a continuation of it. It was not parted from it by the breadth of the river, since it is only at this point that the present river-bed coincides with the old one, just where the boundaries of St Giles', St Clement's and All Saints' meet. Next, it passed along the route of St John's Lane, the straightness of which suggests artificial modification. The ground through which it passed was very poor—so the burgesses described the Hospital site—and no doubt it was swampy. Deep river silt was found in digging the site of the new buildings west of the Chapel of St John's. Between the Divinity Schools and the edge of All Saints' churchyard the ditch makes a rectangular bay which was possibly the position of a guardhouse protecting a bridge on the northern side. All Saints' Passage from St John's gate to the Hoop Hotel next represents its direction, and then in Park Street it joined the King's Ditch at something like a right angle¹. The King's Ditch in other parts was probably a work of post-Conquest days. But here we may assume that its makers utilized an already existing channel. Where Park Street bends sharply towards Jesus Green the King's Ditch parted company with the St John's Lane Ditch and running directly for the river entered it immediately opposite the outlet of the northern King's Ditch, or Cambridge watercourse. The lower part of Park Street has the natural sinuosity of a river, and the St John's Lane Ditch followed its windings to the Common. Loggan's plan² shows that it was continued in the brook skirting Jesus Close, which Professor Hughes in his *Communication* (p. 413) recognises as probably 'an ancient watercourse maintained as a boundary.' Jesus Brook now passes under the Common into the river near Callaby's³.

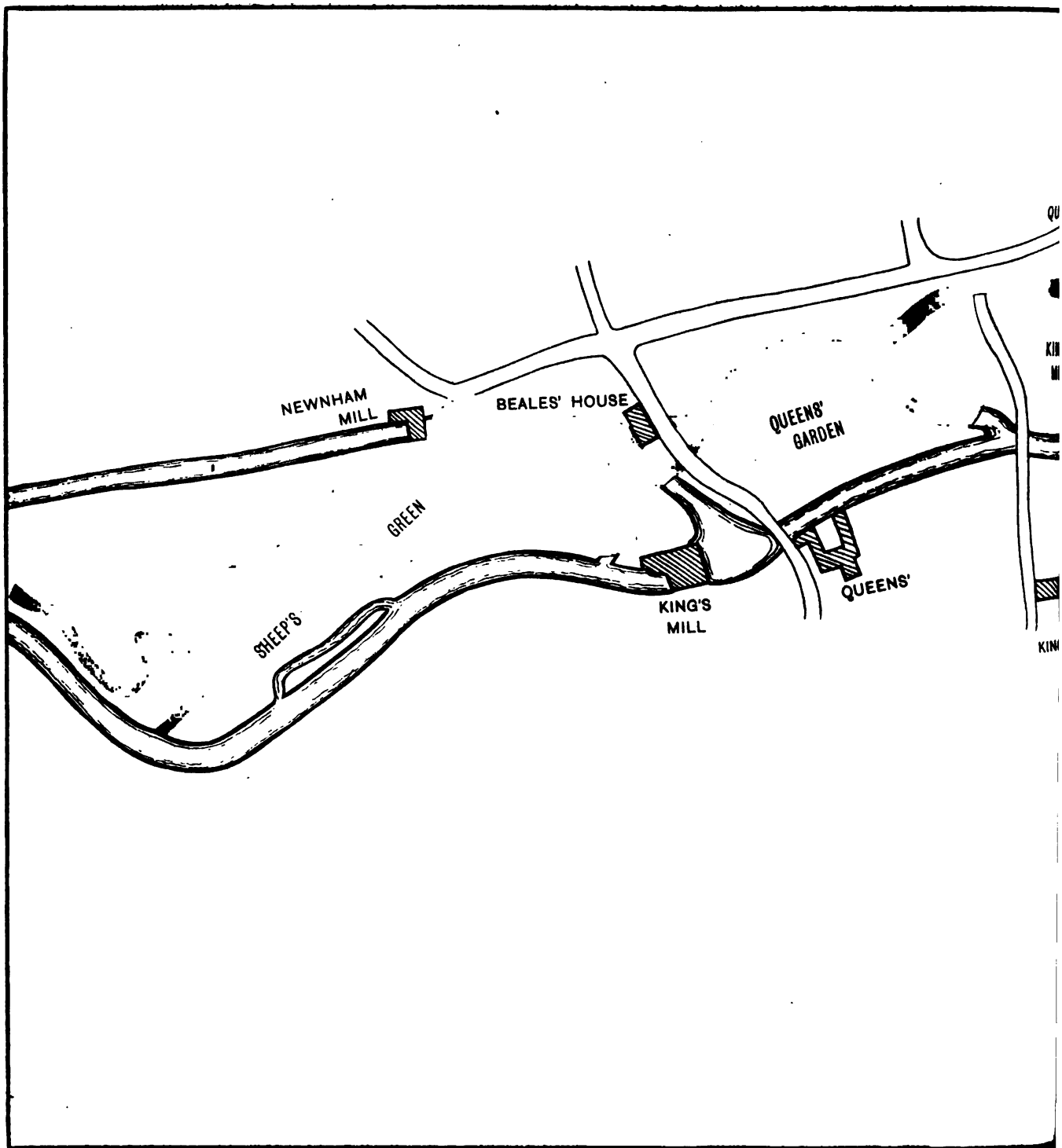
When it reached the Common the St John's Lane Ditch passed away from St Clement's and began to bound the parishes of All Saints and Barnwell. St Clement's

¹ It has often puzzled me why Jesus Lane joins the main street, i.e. Bridge Street and Sidney Street, in such an inconveniently rectangular way, instead of making directly for the road junction at the Round Church. As the ground in the direct line was high and dry, there was nothing to prevent it from doing so. Perhaps the reason was that in that direction it was barred by the St John's Lane Ditch, and that the crossing could only be effected in Bridge Street. Or perhaps there was only one crossing, that at the Divinity Schools. The dangerous crossing where Magdalene Street is joined by Northampton Street and Chesterton Lane is clearly accounted for by the Cambridge watercourse, which could only be crossed at Cambridge Bridge; otherwise the two latter streets would have made directly for the Great Bridge. Observe that, as they are carried through the *vallum*, they must have been directed in their present course at a time when the *vallum* had ceased to serve as a defence, though the watercourse was still something more than a ditch.

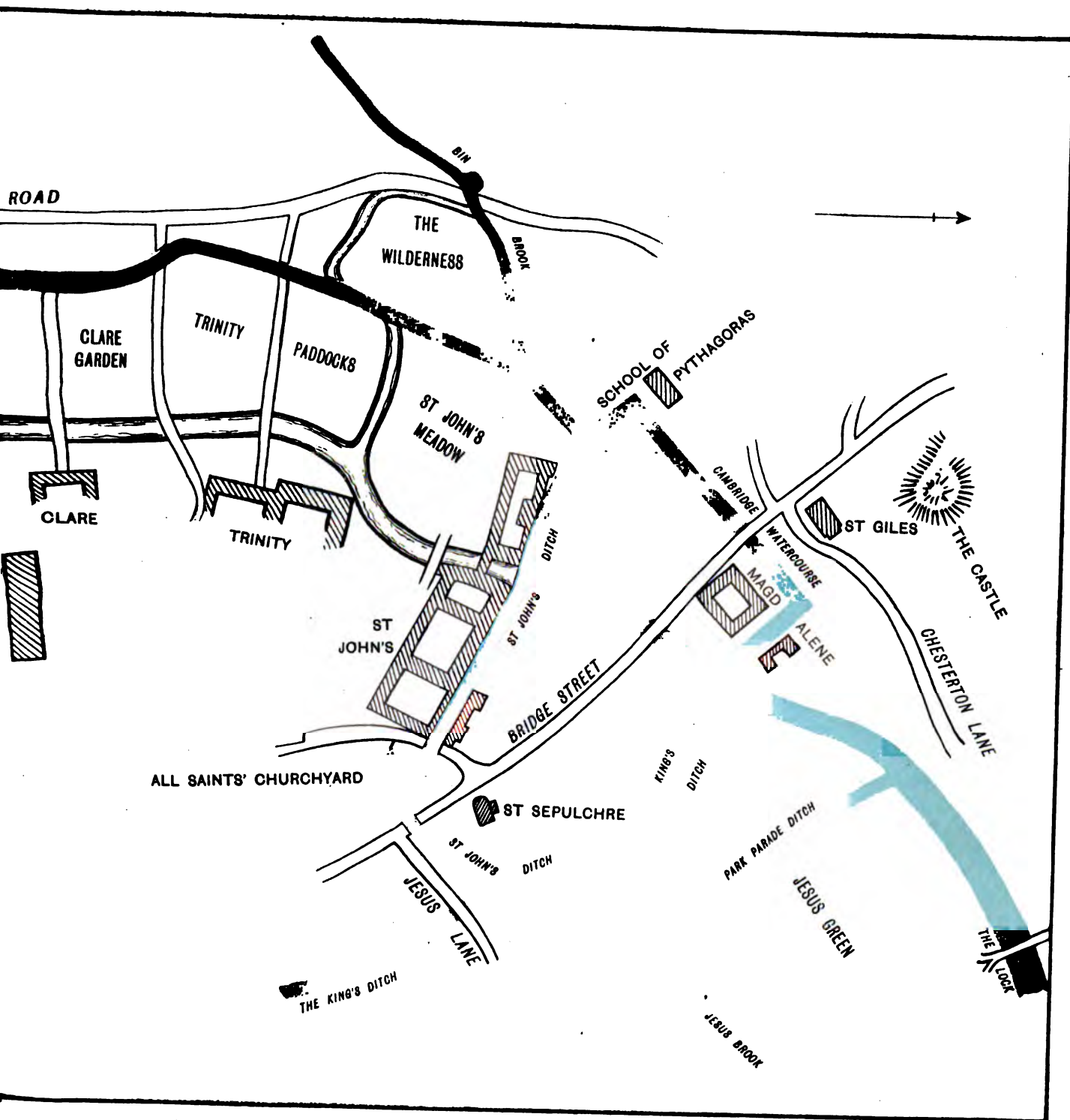
² *Architectural History*, vol. II. p. 116.

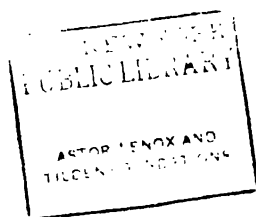
³ I think that there is little doubt that the Nunneslake mentioned in Cooper's *Annals* (vol. I. pp. 196, note and 278) was the Jesus Brook. 'Lake' in this name is not the modern word derived from Latin *lacus*, but the old English for 'a piece of running water' (*Promptorium, rivulus*). The Countess Constance in Stephen's reign granted the Nuns of St Radegund 'all the fishing and waters belonging to the *burgus*' of Cambridge. But king John's charter (*Annals*, vol. I. p. 33) granted to the burgesses, along with other appurtenances of the town, 'mills, waters and pools,' and at the time of the Hundred Rolls survey the Cambridge jurors affirmed that the townsfolk had a common *piscaria* in the common waters of the town (*Hundred Rolls*, vol. II. p. 391). It does not appear that either the Nuns or Jesus College ever claimed a right of fishing in the main channel of the river below the town. In the reign of Charles II the mayor and aldermen fished 'according to custom' once a year from Newnham Pit to the town boundary at Bullen, next Ditton Field, as evidence of their right (*Alderman Newton's Diary*, ed. Foster, p. 11). But that the Nuns did possess certain fishing rights is shown by the fact that the grant of Constance was confirmed in a charter of Edward II. A sixteenth century document in the treasury of Jesus College describes this charter of Edward II as 'a grante of y^e fishing along by Jesus Greene.'





Old Courses of the Cam





marches with Barnwell along the edge of the Common, where Park Parade is now built. Here we have no difficulty in finding the watercourse that divided the northern and southern towns. It exists still in a channel which supplies the water to Jesus Brook from the river above the lock. Before Park Parade was built it ran in an open course, but now it is covered in. Though the water now runs from the river into Jesus Brook, before the water level was raised by the lock it obviously ran in a contrary direction; and by this route, as well as by the Jesus Brook, the St John's Lane Ditch found its way to the river. The sections on pp. 403, 404 of Professor Hughes' Communication show a stratum of peaty silt in the region of Park Parade, indicating a marshy bed. In this channel, represented in Loggan's plan as a naturally curving brook, we see the last stretch of the Anglo-Mercian border moat.

It may be convenient to put in a connected order the facts which I read into this new chapter of what I may call the pre-history of Cambridge. Facts perhaps I have no right to call them. Whithersoever the evidence has led, I have attempted to bridge the *lacunae* in its track with conjectural stepping-stones, and, at least in some matters, I think that I have reached solid ground. One conclusion, and that the central and important one, as I may fairly claim, rises above the region of conjecture—the occupation of Cambridge in the eighth century and in earlier centuries by two communities—Mercians and East Anglians.

The settlement of East Anglians in Norfolk and Suffolk was probably almost simultaneous with the Jutish occupation of Kent (449), and was perhaps completed before 500. South-eastern Cambridgeshire and the fen country about Ely were occupied at a later date and may have been outlying principalities or aldermanships of the central government fixed at Thetford in Norfolk. When the East Anglian colonists had advanced as far as Cambridge they found their progress barred by Mercians who had entered the district from the region of Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire. The settlement of the southern parts of the county by the two peoples was completed before the end of the sixth century. Cambridge on both sides of the river was probably in the possession of the Mercians. Between 617 and 632 East Anglia under Raedwald rose to the first place among Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and extended its borders at the expense of Mercia. It annexed a fair-sized district in the south-eastern corner of the county and some townships near Cambridge, and finally drove the Mercians out of Cambridge, appropriating both banks of the river at the Castle End and leaving only the Castle area in the hands of the Mercians. To this time we may ascribe the construction of Aermeswerch and the Cambridge watercourse. Between the years 637 and 654 the terrible power of Mercia was revealed under Penda, but his raids in East Anglian Cambridgeshire seem to have resulted in no permanent alteration of the boundary. After Winwaed (655) the East Anglians recovered their wasted territory and remained in occupation of it until at least 700. After that date East Anglia sinks into obscurity, and we know no more of its history than that it was constantly in alliance with Northumbria and Wessex. With those kingdoms Mercia was as constantly at war, and its power steadily grew until it culminated under Offa (758–796), who attempted the subjugation of East Anglia. At some time during the eighth century the Mercians recovered the northern bank of the river, and so much of the southern bank as was included in the area of the parishes of St Clement and St Sepulchre. To this period belongs the construction of the border moat which I call the St John's Lane Ditch. To each town was reserved its adjoining Field, and

each town had its priest or church supported by the tithes of the Field. When the Mercians had gained both banks they built the Bridge; the East Anglians held both sides of the river at the Small Bridges. After Offa's death the Mercian attacks on East Anglia were renewed, but the East Anglians called in the aid of Egbert of Wessex (823), and were able to repel them. After 827 both kingdoms were in permanent subjection to Wessex, but they continued to subsist until the Danish incursions in the last quarter of the century. The Danish occupation of Cambridgeshire was neither so complete nor so permanent as that of Norfolk and Suffolk. Edward the Elder recovered the county in 921 and fixed its boundary at the Devil's Dyke. During or after the Danish occupation the district became recognised as a shire, but the old political divisions were still maintained in the partition of the county between the earldoms of Huntingdon and East Anglia, and the Isle of Ely retained a quasi-independence of the rest of the county. The phantom of Mercian royalty in Cambridgeshire disappeared in the reign of Edward I, when the Scottish kings forfeited the remnants of the earldom of Huntingdon. A shred of an ancient East Anglian earldom existed until last century in the temporal jurisdiction of the bishops of Ely; and of that earldom another trace survived until Camden's day in the curious arrangement that the sheriff was chosen out of Huntingdonshire one year, out of the Isle of Ely, the second, and out of Cambridgeshire, the third.

APPENDIX.

§ 1. THE DOOMSDAY WARDS.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Cambridge contained seven wards, viz. the Ward beyond the Bridge, Bridge Ward, High Ward, Market Ward, Trumpington (or Preachers') Ward, Milne Ward and Barnwell. In Domesday there are ten. Probably parishes had no existence in Cambridge in 1086, but I take the ten Domesday wards as districts, each of which may then have contained a church, and not much later was recognised as a parish. The ward bounds in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not exactly correspond with those of the parishes. For example, the High Ward extended northwards as far as St John's Lane, so as to include a part, but not the whole, of All Saints' parish. In this case the ward would seem to be older than the parish. We can determine the general position of the Domesday wards with reasonable certainty. In all old enumerations of Cambridge wards and parishes the list begins at the Castle End. It is so in *Hundred Rolls*, in the tallages of 1312 and 1340, in the list of parish wardens of 1426, in the high-gable rentals of 1483 and in the rental of Barnwell Priory in the *Liber Memorandum* (pp. 282—290). All these lists follow a certain geographical order and usually end with the southern wards (either Trumpington or Milne) and the parishes there, but sometimes Barnwell is put last. This order, I have little question, is observed in Domesday. The first ward is obviously beyond the Bridge: it contained the twenty-seven houses destroyed by the Conqueror 'pro castro.' The second ward is called 'brugge-warde' in *Inquisitio Eliensis*. The

same authority says that Ely Abbey had a church in the fourth ward: it can only have been St Andrew's the Great. The intervening third ward probably contained Barnwell and the green which was afterwards comprised in the parishes of All Saints and St Radegund. Wards 5 to 10 must then include the whole of the southern town. Next to the first ward, which, Domesday says, was reckoned, T. R. E., as two, the fifth ward was the largest: probably it was near the Market. The tenth ward was the smallest. It was probably near the Mills. Six houses had been destroyed in this ward, and Domesday tells us that Picot, the sheriff, destroyed several houses to make his mills.

The sixth ward is a well-known *crux*. Domesday mentions it but gives no figures of *masurae* contained in it: *Inquisitio Eliensis* does the same. Against all probability Dr Walker supposes that this ward was next the first and contained the twenty-seven houses destroyed 'pro castro.' But not only does Domesday omit to mention the *masurae* contained in it; it makes it plain that it contained *no masurae*, for, if we include the twenty-seven destroyed houses, the number of *masurae* in the Conqueror's time was exactly the same as in the Confessor's, viz. four hundred¹. I conclude that the ward was a new one at the time of Domesday, taking the place of the merged ward and completing the number of ten wards, which 'are and were,' as Domesday says. In the reckoning its *masurae* were included in the adjoining fifth or seventh ward.

If this interpretation of the position of the Domesday wards be accepted the totals of *masurae*, inhabited and waste, in 1086 were thus:

	Inhabited	Waste	Total
Wards 1 and 2=northern town	98	4	102
Wards 3 and 4=Barnwell and 'the Green'	51	35	86
Wards 5-10=southern town	181	4	185
	330	43	373

The figures do not include the twenty-seven houses in the northern town which were destroyed 'pro castro.' The large amount of waste—four-fifths of the whole—contained in wards 3 and 4 will be remarked. In the same wards there were but 51 inhabited *masurae* as compared with 132 at the time of *Hundred Rolls*. It is reasonable to conclude that Barnwell, which contained 99 houses in 1278, accounted for most of them. The population of these two wards, between 1086 and 1278, increased much more rapidly than that of either of the other parts of the town.

¹ Like the hide reckonings of townships and hundreds, which are commonly multiples of five, this round number is evidently an arbitrary sum, fixed for assessment purposes and immutable. Cambridge was reckoned as a hundred, that is, it was rated as worth one hundred hides. As four virgates make a hide it follows that the town *masura* was taken to be worth an agricultural virgate. If the *masura* at Cambridge was rated at sixpence per annum, as was the case at Colchester, the total assessment of the town, T. R. E., was £10. At the time of Domesday the 'land-gavel,' which included 'haw-gavel,' amounted to £7. 3s. 6d.: the difference is accounted for by the waste and the tenements which in Domesday are returned as not taxable. Professor Maitland (*Township and Borough*, p. 181) comments on the 'marvellous permanence' of the sum of the 'haw-gavel' rent in Cambridge from Domesday to Richard III: it always 'seem[s] to lie between £7 and £8.'

§ 2. *WARDA CASTRI*, WARD-PENNIES AND PONTAGE.

In the excellent glossary to his edition of the *Liber Memorandum* Mr Clark distinguishes between *warda castri*, which he explains as 'the duty of garrisoning a castle, or the sum paid in commutation of the same,' and *ward-penny*, *warth-penes*, which he takes to be 'the duty of finding *inwards*, that is guards for the king's person and goods when he comes into the county.' But a little examination proves that there is no such distinction, and that the explanation of *warda castri* applies also to *ward-penny*. If the terms are not synonymous the difference is that *warda castri* was originally the duty of garrisoning a castle, and *ward-penny* the substitute in money for it. This is the difference implied in a charter of Richard I (1189) confirming the privileges of the Church of Ely: 'ita quod milites de honore sanctae Etheldredae qui solebant facere wardam in praedicto castello [de Norwico] faciant eam in Ely ad summonitionem Eliensis Episcopi; sit etiam queta ipsa ecclesia...de wardpeny de quadraginta solidis qui requirebantur de terra sua et de hominibus suis' (*Cartul. Monast. de Rameseia*, I. p. 116). The list in the *Liber Memorandum* is headed—'Annotacio feodorum comitatum Cantabrigiensis et Huntendonensis, auxilii vicecomitis, sectarum et warthpenes.' But except in the case of the first vill in the list, Stanton, and the last, Ickleton, which are said to owe 'warpanes,' or 'wardipeny,' the term employed throughout the list of vills is not *warthpenes* but *warda castri*. Moreover a detailed comparison of the *Liber Memorandum* with the *Hundred Rolls* shows that the service which the former calls *warda castri* is sometimes called *warpanes*, or *wardsylver* in the latter. Sometimes in *Hundred Rolls* a property is said to owe both *warda castri* and 'war-panes,' but in every such case the *warda castri* is due to a baronial castle, not to Cambridge. For example, at Stanton Nicholas de Cheney owes *warda castri* to Richmond as well as 'warpanes,' the latter clearly to Cambridge.

While the *Hundred Rolls* give what purports to be a complete return of all properties charged with castle ward, or ward-pence, whether to Cambridge or to baronial castles, the list in the *Liber Memorandum* includes only those which owed service to the King's castle at Cambridge. This is made clear in the note prefixed to the *Liber Memorandum* list, in which it is said that 'whereas the sheriff's servants frequently make arbitrary and unjust distraints, unduly distraining some and sparing others who should rightly be distrained,...it is worth while writing in this book the names of hundreds, tenants and tenements which owe such services, and from ancient times have owed them.' The list includes not merely the Priory tenants but all landholders in the county who were responsible for the services; the object being not only to protect the Priory tenant in case of unjust distraint but to enable him to transfer the burden to those who should rightly bear it. 'So,' adds the writer, 'in case of such distraint in future it will not be necessary to go to the Castle in order to see the sheriff's roll, but men may see and be informed by this book.'

The East Anglian hundreds were Chilford, Radfield, Cheveley, Stapelhow, Stane, Flendish and the two hundreds of Ely. The Mercian hundreds were Chesterton, Armingford, North Stow, Papworth, Long Stow, Triplow, Wetherley and Whittlesford. In the *Liber Memorandum* list the eight Mercian hundreds are significantly placed together at the beginning: six East Anglian hundreds follow, and the Ely hundreds are omitted. I give a list of vills contained in the Mercian hundreds which belonged to the Honour of Huntingdon or owed castle ward (ward-pence) or pontage to Cambridge.

	Honour of Huntingdon	Castle Ward	Pontage		Honour of Huntingdon	Castle Ward	Pontage
<i>Chesterton Hundred</i>				<i>Long Stow Hundred</i>			
Childerley	+		+	Caldecote	+	+	+
Dry Drayton	+		+	Kingston	+	+	
Westwick	+		+	Croxton	+		
Histon			+	Toft		+	+
<i>Armingford Hundred</i>				Bourne		+	+
Clopton	+			Eltisley			+
Croydon		+		Eversden		+	+
Guilden Morden		+		<i>Triplow Hundred</i>			
<i>North Stow Hundred</i>				Triplow	+		
Oakington	+	+	+	Trumpington		+	
Long Stanton	+	+	+	<i>Wetherley Hundred</i>			
Landbeach	+	+	+	Barton	+		+
Girton		+		Comberton	+	+	
Lolworth		+	+	Arrington	+		
<i>Papworth Hundred</i>				Grantchester	+		+
Boxworth	+		+	Orwell	+		
Conington	+	+	+	Wratworth (in Orwell)	+		
Swavesey	+		+	Wimpole		+	
Over	+		+	<i>Whittlesford Hundred</i>			
Papworth Everard			+	Hinxton		+	
Papworth Agnes		+	+	Ickleton		+	
				Duxford			+

In the *Hundred Rolls* Trumpington, Papworth Agnes and Eversden are said to owe ward to Cambridge Castle, but not so in the *Liber Memorandorum*. On the other hand Guilden Morden, Croydon and Ickleton, which, according to the latter, owed ward to Cambridge, do not occur in the list which I have taken from the *Hundred Rolls*. The reason is that the two former villas are entirely omitted in the *Hundred Rolls*, and that the MS. is defective in the case of Ickleton. Otherwise the two lists are in strict correspondence.

The following list gives the villas which in the *Hundred Rolls* are said to pay ward to baronial castles. They are scattered indiscriminately over the Mercian and East Anglian parts of southern Cambridgeshire. Those villas which are said to pay ward-pence, as well as ward to the specified castle, are distinguished by the letters WP.

Richmond

Babraham
Pampisford
Barham (Linton)
Horseheath
Little Abington
Waterbeach
Girton (WP)
Long Stanton (WP)
Swavesey
Swaffham Prior
Swaffham Bulbeck
Burwell
Badlingham
Landwade

Richmond (cont.)

Toft
Bourne
Caldecote
Malton (in Orwell)
Wimpole
West Wickham
Duxford

Pech

Lolworth (WP)

Heachingham

Little Wilbraham

Rockingham

Orwell

Barton

Cotes (in Grantchester)

Long Stanton (WP)

Craven

Trumpington

Peverel

Trumpington

The following vill in the *Hundred Rolls* pay ward to castles unspecified:

Oakington

Lolworth (WP)

Girton

Bourne

The following vill in the *Hundred Rolls* are said to pay ward-pence (ward-silver) to castles unspecified:

Westwick

Childerley

Histon

Oakington

Milton

Landbeach

Lolworth

Girton

Long Stanton

Olmstead (Castle Camps)

Teversham

Fulbourn

Cherry Hinton

Soham

Isleham

Ashley

The seven last named are in East Anglian hundreds. Olmstead certainly paid to Richmond. Of Teversham, Cherry Hinton and Fulbourn it is stated in the *Hundred Rolls* that they now owe ward to the Bishop of Ely, but formerly to the King. They are clearly to be included in the Ely possessions which owed ward to Norwich, but whose service was transferred by King Richard I to Ely (see page 13, *note*). Soham, Isleham and Ashley paid perhaps to Norwich, perhaps to baronial castles.

I have not discovered more than eight instances of pontage charge in the *Hundred Rolls*. They are for properties in

Childerley

Histon

Oakington

Long Stanton

Eltisley

Bourne

Swaffham Prior

Quy-Stow

The two last are in East Anglian hundreds. As the vill of Swaffham Prior was mainly in the hands of the Prior of Ely there can be little doubt that the payment was for Ely or Aldreth Bridge. Quy may have paid to Ely, or perhaps to Ramsey, as the Abbot of Ramsey was chief tenant there. In any case neither vill forms an exception to the rule that pontage for Cambridge was charged only in the Mercian hundreds. In Cooper's *Annals*, anno 1752, a list is given of 'manors and lands chargeable to the repair of the Great Bridge in Cambridge.' All of them are in the Mercian hundreds, and Swaffham and Quy are not included. Every vill named in the *Liber Memorandum* occurs in the list of 1752, and two besides, viz. Hardwick and Whittlesford.

§ 3. THE ISLE OF ELY.

Liber Eliensis, bk i. ch. 15. 'Nec quidem, juxta quorundam estimacionem, Elge de provincia est Cantebrige, sed revera, sicut Beda docet, Orientalium Anglorum, dignitate et magnitudine regio vocata familiarum circiter sescentarum.'

This passage was written in the twelfth century. Of course the *provincia* of Cambridge is the shire, the whole of which, excepting the Ely deanery, was in Lincoln diocese until the creation of the see of Ely. The convention of the Ely monks was apparently that the Isle from ancient times possessed a certain independence of Cambridgeshire, East Anglian as well as Mercian; and such was probably the fact. Tondberht, the first husband of Etheldreda, was 'princeps australium Girviorum' (Baeda, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 19). *Princeps* was a common Latin rendering of *ealdorman*. Baeda thrice applies the name *regio* to the Ely district, and it is frequently so applied in the *Liber Eliensis*. In all these cases I take it that *regio* has the precise meaning of a province governed by an ealdorman, *regulus*, or 'half-king.' The common moot-stow of the Ely hundreds was Witchford, and for most purposes the two were regarded as one. Whether south-eastern Cambridgeshire had an ealdorman of its own or was governed directly by the East Anglian kings I do not know. The tons in the western and northern parts of the Isle suggest a population which was not East Anglian. The *Liber Eliensis* expressly says that Doddington was an island distinct from that of Ely. In Appendix, § 5, I have remarked that the Ely tenures in villenage were peculiar and distinct from those which prevailed in the Mercian or the purely East Anglian hundreds.

§ 4. HAMS AND TONS.

An Ordnance Map in which parish bounds are marked will best indicate the distribution of hams and tons in Cambridgeshire and the nearest parts of the adjoining counties. They lie for the most part in blocks which are not conterminous with the county bounds. For example, most of the tons of south-eastern Cambs. are on the Essex and Herts. border, and the hams of Suffolk are generally near Norfolk and Cambs. From the nine sheets of the one-inch Ordnance Map in which the town of Cambridge occupies a nearly central position, and from the sheet which includes the angle of Norfolk next Cambs. I get the following figures. They give the percentage to the whole of parishes with the *ham* and *ton* suffix in each district.

	Ham	Ton
South-eastern hundreds of Cambs.	36.5	19.5
Norfolk	34	19
Suffolk	18.5	18.5
Herts. and Essex	10.5	10.5
Beds., Hunts., and Northants.	3.5	27
South-western hundreds of Cambs.	2.5	39

In the southern parts of the Isle of Ely there are three tons on the Hunts. border: one (Wilburton) is detached. There are five hams in the neighbourhood of Ely. The Mercian hundreds of Cambs. contain only two hams, Cottenham and Willingham. All the remaining hams of southern Cambs. are in the East Anglian hundreds,

but these contain also seven tons, viz. Cherry Hinton, Fen Ditton, Linton, Abington, Carlton (perhaps a Danish settlement, as Prof. Skeat suggests in his *Place Names of Cambridgeshire*), Wood Ditton and Sexton (Saxon Street, apparently an East Saxon settlement). The tons and hams may be regarded as marking the distribution of the races in or before the sixth century, whereas the hundred divisions cannot be earlier than the tenth century. It would seem that the East Anglians, before the extinction of the independence of the two kingdoms, had extended their original bounds by the annexation of two villis next Cambridge and of five in the south-eastern corner of the shire; but of the last some were perhaps originally East Saxon settlements. Norfolk, rather than Suffolk, appears to have supplied the population of south-eastern Cambs. It is worth remarking how many village names in East Anglian Cambs. are repeated in Norfolk and Suffolk—Fordham, Thetford, Isleham (Doomsday, Gisleham, compare Gislingham, Suffolk), Soham (Doomsday, Saham, compare Saham-Tony, Norfolk and Earl-Soham, Suffolk), Swaffham, Babraham (Doomsday, Badburgham, compare Badberg or Baberg hundred, Suffolk), Downham.

§ 5. BORDARS AND COTTARS.

To other indications that Cambridgeshire was once parted between two distinct nationalities I may add a suggestion on the distribution of *bordarii* and *cottarii* in the southern hundreds. The cottar class in Doomsday is altogether unrepresented in the six East Anglian hundreds, if we except four cottars who are found in a single manor (Fulbourn) in Flendish hundred. Nor is there any mention of it in the neighbouring hundred of Whittlesford. In the remaining seven Mercian hundreds both bordars and cottars are numerous in every vill and hundred. The totals of the several classes of the population, as supplied by Doomsday, are as follows:

	Villani	Bordarii	Cottarii	Servi	Sochemanni
Seven Mercian hundreds	815	851	552	204	121
Six East Anglian hundreds	739½	481	4	244	58
Whittlesford hundred	99	72	0	18	1
Two Ely hundreds	268	17	171	95	63

We may agree with Professor Maitland (*Doomsday Book and Beyond*, pp. 38—41) that bordars and cottars belonged to the villain class, but that their holdings were smaller and their tenure more servile than was the case of the villain particularly so called, and that the cottar was lower in the landed scale than the bordar. It is not certain that in all counties and in all hundreds there was a real distinction between bordars and cottars, but in Doomsday Cambridgeshire there are plenty of manors which contained both classes, and in such cases we must assume that there was a distinction. I think that it is more than a coincidence that the East Anglian hundreds are just those which exclude the cottars, while in seven Mercian hundreds they are universally distributed and amount to 21·7 per cent. of the whole population. Whittlesford hundred undoubtedly makes a difficulty. Like the neighbouring East Anglian hundreds it has no cottars: yet, as it is within the *ton* region and three manors in it owed castle ward or pontage, it is clearly a Mercian hundred. The tenure of lands in villenage in the Ely hundreds differed from that in Mercian or in East Anglian Cambs. The Ely villains in each class had lands of varying acreage, and the extent of the holding is generally stated: *villani* held from 15 to 6 acres, *bordarii* from 8 to 4, and *cottarii*, in the cases stated, not more than one.

§ 6. GRANTEBRYCGE AND CANTEBRIGE.

Professor Skeat has shown in his *Place Names of Cambridgeshire* that from 875 to 1140 the name of the town was always—with unimportant varieties of spelling—Grantebrycge. He regards the form Cantebrige, which began to appear soon after 1140, and the other variants of it with initial C, as due to Norman mispronunciation. I am reluctant to challenge his high authority on a matter of English philology, but I must think it improbable that the name of an important town, a name long familiar in English speech, underwent such a remarkable transformation owing to the vagaries of Norman scribes or the inability of Norman lords to attune their tongues to English pronunciation. If Sussex Normans did not stick at the pronunciation of Groombridge I know not why Grantbridge should have been a Shibboleth in Cambridgeshire. Professor Skeat thinks that the dropping of the *r* in *Cambridge* is due to a wish to avoid the use of *gr* and *br* in the same word. But in English speech, which in the pronunciation of English words is a far more determining cause than any Norman influence, we do not see this dislike. On the contrary, in the word *bridegroom*, the second element of which is A.S. *guma*, the second *r* is actually intruded by the influence of the first. In a book-reading, etymologising age it is possible that village names may undergo such transformations as Oakington for Hokiton and Pampisford for Pampisworth, but the local pronunciations Hockiton and Panser are living evidence for the unsophisticated names. The local use of the name Grantebrige was quite dead at the time of *Hundred Rolls*, six centuries ago. And there is a yet more fatal objection to the theory that Cantebrige arose from Grantebrycge by mispronunciation. If it were so we should expect to find the intermediate forms Gantebrig or Crantebrig, and neither exists. Apart from the neighbouring *br* neither Normans nor English had the smallest objection to the sound of initial *Gr*. They tolerated it in Gransden, in Graveley, in Gretton (medieval for Girton), and most noticeably of all in Grantchester.

I am convinced that we must look for the origin of the name Cambridge in a different direction. In our investigation we must not forget the existence of another English Cambridge, a hamlet near the Severn in Gloucestershire. It also is situated on a stream which at the present day is called the Cam, and Cam is the name of a neighbouring hamlet. In the tenth century chronicle of Ethelwerd (*Hist. Angl. Scriptores*, ed. Savile, p. 482 *b*) this Gloucestershire Cambridge is called Cantbricge, and is mentioned as the scene of a fight with the Danes: 'parte in Eoa fluvii Sefern etiam transmeabant pontem qui vulgo Cantbricge nuncupatur.' It will hardly be contended that this too is a corruption of Grantbricge: indeed Ethelwerd knows East Anglian Cambridge too and calls it Grantanbricge (p. 480 *b*). The most obvious explanation—I do not say that it is necessarily the true one—is that the place Cantbrig in both cases took its name from a bridge over a stream which had the name of Cant or Cante. (The final *e* in the latter form may represent medieval English *ee*, meaning 'water,' a name constantly given to our Cambridgeshire river, and as constantly used in the form Grante, i.e. Grant river.) The name—presumably, like most river names, a British one—is probably identical with Kennet, or Kent, a sufficiently common river name, and actually found in the Cambridgeshire Kennet, which gives its name to Kentford. The vowel change seen in Canta-Kent is paralleled by that in Canterbury and the county name, Kent.

The river Cam had a multiplicity of names in the middle ages, Granta, Ree, the Ee, &c., but Professor Skeat is right in saying that it was not called Canta before

1372. Much less was it called Cam, a name of modern growth which is due to the false etymologising which has given us Grantchester for Grantsete. Both here and in Gloucestershire, by the process which Professor Skeat describes, Cantbridge has given rise to Cambridge, and from Cambridge has been evolved the river name Cam. But I think nevertheless that Cantebrig was the name of a bridge which spanned a stream called Cante. Cambrigge Brigge in the fifteenth century was the name given to the bridge which crossed the Cambridge watercourse, and by the same process which originated the name Cam the bridge lent its name to the stream. Long before the fifteenth century the stream had contracted to a mere trickle. When Edward I's jurors perambulated the Castle bounds it was known to them as 'the old ditch,' *vetus fossatum*, and they went *through* it, needing neither bridge nor ferry. The dwindled stream had evidently lost its name; but the bridge, as an iron grating, remained in 1574. When the watercourse was a navigable stream, as we know that it was before the thirteenth century, the name of Cambrigge Brigge must have been simply Cante Brig. The name must have been given to it when Cantebrig was *not* the name of the town. In comparison with the Great Bridge the Cante Brig must always have been of small importance. It would be as unreasonable to give it the name of the town as to give the name of London Bridge to the little bridge which crossed the Fleet river.

Professor Skeat is probably correct in saying that there is no written evidence for the form Cantebrig before 1142. For, though that and similar forms with initial C do occur in several deeds relating to the foundation of Barnwell Priory (in *Liber Memorandum*) as well as in the charter of Henry I to the townsmen (in *Cambridge Borough Charters*) these are not original documents. But I think that there is good reason for believing that the name Cantebrig was applied at a very early date to the quarter near the Cante Brig, or to the whole of over-bridge Cambridge. Sturbridge and Small Bridges too were recognised quarters. The western Field, lying nearest this Cantebrig quarter, was known as Cambridge Field, just as Barnwell Field was the name of the Field next Barnwell. The ward beyond the Great Bridge was called 'Parcelle of Cambridge' as late as 1340 (Cooper's *Annals*). In the list of Amercements of Cambridge in 1177 (*Township and Borough*, p. 171) there are three men who bore the quasi-surname de Cantebrige. Now if a John who hails from Cambridge takes up his abode at another town it is natural enough that he should be called John of Cambridge: but if he dwells among his own people the name fails to be distinctive, unless we assume that there was a particular locality in the town which was known as Cambridge. There was a well-known Sir Thomas de Cantebrige who lived in the fourteenth century, and we know as a definite fact that he owned the place called Dunnyngestede, which we can identify with the manor house now called the School of Pythagoras. (See the index of charters in my *Priory of St Radegund* and Master's *History of Corpus Christi College*, p. 24.) When the Conqueror's Castle was built nothing is more natural than that, from the bridge which was at its foot or the quarter in which it stood, it should come to be called Cambridge Castle. From the Castle and the Castle quarter the name spread within sixty years to the whole town, and I agree with Professor Skeat that the similarity in sound of Grantebriġ and Cantebrig played some part in its extension.



